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CONCERNING THE

DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST

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RELATION OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOMS OF PERU

BY

PEDRO PIZARRO

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH AND ANNOTATED

BY

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS

THE CORTES SOCIETY

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1921

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RELATION OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOMS OF PERU, AND OF THE GOVERNMENT AND ARRANGEMENTS WHICH THE NATIVES OF THEM FORMERLY HAD, AND OF THE TREASURES WHICH WERE FOUND THEREIN, AND OF THE OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THOSE REALMS UP TO THE DAY ON WHICH THE RELATION WAS SIGNED BY PEDRO PIZARRO, A CONQUEROR AND SETTLER OF THOSE SAID KINGDOMS, AND A CITIZEN OF THE CITY OF AREQUIPA, IN THE YEAR 1571 131

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

The present translation is based upon the only two known editions of Pedro Pizarro's "Relacion". Of these the older will be found in Martin Fernandez de Navarrete's *Colección de documentos para la historia de España*, Volume V, pages 201–388, Madrid, 1844; the other will be found in the *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú*, edited by Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero, Volume VI, pages 1–185, Lima, 1917.

The present editor has been at considerable pains to amplify his text with useful supplementary material. In translating he has adhered to the original, even preserving the less important vagaries of style for the sake of creating the same atmosphere in the translation as that which is found in the Spanish text; but, in crucial places of special importance, he has never hesitated to give a loose translation if obscurity as to an important

point would otherwise be created. Capitalization and the spelling of proper names follow the original.

Thanks are due to Dr. A. C. Rivas of the Pan-American Union, to Dr. A. Gandolfo Herrera of the Argentine Embassy, Washington, and of Buenos Aires, and to Prof. Marshall H. Saville for aid in translating certain passages. To my mother, Mrs. James Means, I am also indebted for help of various kinds.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
September 25, 1920

AN INTRODUCTION
TO
PEDRO PIZARRO'S RELACION DEL DESCUBRIMIENTO Y CONQUISTA DE LOS REINOS DEL PERÚ

Preliminary Comments

In order fully to comprehend the work of Pedro Pizarro and its value we must inform ourselves somewhat fully as to what may be termed the historical landscape which he describes and of which he himself forms a feature. In order to make this as convenient as possible for the student, the present translation of the "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú" is provided with a sufficiency of introductory and explanatory matter, together with copious bibliographical material and auxiliary appendices.

The "Relacion" is in effect, though not in intention, an epitaph upon a civilization whose little day is done. In order that some idea

of the historical and geographical aspects of that civilization may be at hand for the reader's ready consultation, something will be said of the development of that civilization, of its environment and of the circumstances of its conquest by the forces of Castile. It will also be found that some data as to our author himself are provided, all of which, it is to be hoped, will aid in giving to Pedro Pizarro the preëminent position which he deserves, but which few, save the great Prescott, have accorded him.

Pre-Columbian Peru

Little by little modern research into documentary sources, modern analytical study of folklore and tradition, and modern archeological investigation are, as it were, peeling off the shroud-like wrappings which have so long kept from us clear perception of the ancient history of the Andean region, generically called Peru by early Spanish writers, and, more anciently still, called Ttahua-ntinsuyu, The Land of the Four Provinces.

Nevertheless, though we of today know far more than did the writers of great Prescott's generation, our knowledge is still very imperfect; almost every year of study by investigators of several nationalities adds some new items to what we already possess. Consequently, all statements made today, and all theories now put forth, must be frankly acknowledged to be tentative, strictly subject to confirmation or to reversal by future study. If we bear this in mind, however, there can be no harm in stating what now seem to be the salient features of pre-Columbian history in the Andean region.

It is probable, then, that the region in question received its earliest inhabitants from Central America, perchance two thousand years ago, more or less. At that time Central America had long been the seat of a complex and rather numerous population who had, for centuries, been slowly advancing from the humble stage of culture in which their distant Asiatic ancestors had lived.[1] As a result of growing pressure, perhaps economic or

agrarian, perhaps political, perhaps of some unconjectured description, little groups of families or clans began to wander, quite undirected, quite vaguely, down the shores of the land-mass on which they lived. There was here no element of the carefully planned migration which some writers have sought to establish. Rather, the series of movements instituted in this indefinitely remote epoch was of precisely the same haphazard nature as that which first gave our continent its earliest inhabitants. In time two streams, both intermittent no doubt, of undirected little knots of nomads began to pour southward, some following the Atlantic seaboard and some that of the Pacific. A number of the tribes thus aimlessly drifting found homes as time went on along their line of travel, and they established themselves permanently in the new found lands. Their progress thereafter depended on what degree of inborn genius for advancement they may have possessed or upon the reaction on them of their new surroundings.[2]

As the result of this process, or one very like it, a period which we may roughly date as 200 A.D. found a long line of rather advanced seaboard states flourishing on the coast of Peru. In the interior, on the Atlantic watershed of the continent, another set of societies, less advanced, but possessing excellent cultural potentialities, was established, its ancestor-folk having drifted inland from the Atlantic shore. As yet, in all probability, there was little, if any, contact between the two sets of cultures.[3]

As time went on, naturally enough, both sets of societies, those inland and those on the Pacific littoral, underwent modifications of one sort and another. They kept thrusting out feelers, so to speak; trade constantly enlarged the sphere of their interests and geographical knowledge. In time, the two met, blended, and to some extent, merged. The result was the weird but colourful civilization to which modern nomenclature applies the name "Tiahuanaco", using the comparatively recent name of an important centre of

the culture as an arbitrarily chosen label for the whole. The Tiahuanaco culture, passing through many phases, both chronologically and geographically, was probably at its height between 500 and 1000 A.D.[4]

It is now well known that the civilization of Central America underwent a marked period of depression between 700 and 1000 A.D. It seems not unlikely that a similar phenomenon took place in the Andean region in the tenth century A.D. It is fairly clear that the cultural retrogression which then took place was far more pronounced in the highlands than it was on the coast. It is not known, of course, whether or not the causes of this contrast were economic, climatic, or otherwise. We can but conjecture, more or less fruitlessly, as to whether or no such calamities as incursions by savage and undeveloped tribes, as pestilences, or as earthquakes, may not have had uneven results in the highlands and on the littoral.[5]

At all events, it is comparatively certain that the societies in the coast valleys con-

tinued with the rather elevated degree of culture to which they had attained previously to the postulated catastrophe. Some dropping-off, some loss in skill and in dexterity, some shortening of sail with respect to political pretensions perhaps did take place. But whatever limitations of this sort may have been fixed upon, cultural activities on the coast were as nothing in comparison to the chaos and retardation which prevailed for generations in the highlands, during the eleventh century and, in some localities, for many decades thereafter. Probably by 1250, more or less, the coast civilizations were again as brilliant as they had been in the earlier days, and they continued so until about 1400.[6]

In the interior, about the year 1100, a small and not powerful tribe, called Inca, began its extraordinary career. The simplest way for us to picture Inca history is to sketch, very briefly, the accomplishments of the various chiefs of the Inca tribe.[7]

First of all, in the course of the development which changed the Inca tribe into a

dynasty, the Incas had to move from their original home, some leagues south-west of Cuzco,[8] into the Cuzco valley itself. At that time the whole mountain region of the Andes was occupied by tribes or *ayllus* which were in varying grades of culture, but most of which, no doubt, were vestiges of the former Tiahuanaco "empire" already referred to. Of these tribes the Incas were one. When, about 1100, or shortly before, they moved into the Cuzco valley, they found several other tribes, whose culture was not very different from their own, already in possession. Strife followed, as an outcome of which the Incas definitely became dominant in the Cuzco valley and its neighbourhood.[9]

The first semi-historic chief of the Incas is known to us as Sinchi Rocca, a name which merits a few words of comment. *Sinchi* is the title borne by the heads of tribes at the time the Incas moved to Cuzco. It seems not unlikely that the *sinchi* were originally elected by the heads of families to lead the warriours in times of unusual stress or danger,

much in the fashion of the early Roman *dictator*. Gradually, however, the *sinchi*-ship changed itself into an hereditary office. The occurrence of this title in connexion with the name of the first known Inca chief strongly suggests that he was merely one *sinchi* among a throng of others, just as the Inca tribe was but one of a host of similar tribes.[10] The first rung of the ladder which the Inca tribe was destined to climb was, then, the subjection by its *sinchi* of other *sinchis* to his will.[11]

Sinchi Rocca (ca. 1105–1140) ruled over a compact little hegemony of tribes in the neighbourhood of the Cuzco valley. To the North and to the South, in the highlands, spread out a long series of tribes much like those which acknowledged his overlordship. Here and there, notably at Cuzco itself, at Chavin, at Tiahuanaco and at many other places, ruins of ancient buildings, surviving from the earlier empire days remained, as did also, no doubt, a considerable mass of customs, folklore and beliefs.

Not unnaturally, the first conquests made by the Incas lay toward the South. Their own earlier home, and the seat of the ancient empire were in that direction. Perhaps floating fables of another era encouraged them to turn their eyes in that locality. Under Lloque Yupanqui (1140–1195, circa), they progressed gradually up the broad open Urubamba valley, adding tribe after tribe, sometimes by force of arms, sometimes by guile, sometimes by a cunning mixture of strength and diplomacy, to their growing realm. By the end of this Inca's reign they had made themselves supreme throughout the strip of territory between Cuzco on the North and Lake Titicaca on the South. At the Pass of Vilcañota, mid-way between Cuzco and the northern end of the Lake, they passed from the region where their own language, Runasimi or Quechua, was the dominant one into that where Colla, incorrectly called Aymará, prevailed. In later times, at least, there was a wall across the vale at this point, a wall which, perhaps, was built by the earlier Incas

for strategic purposes in their wars against the folk of Colla stock.[12]

The third Inca, Mayta Capac (ca. 1195–1230) carried the Inca rule entirely around Lake Titicaca, thrusting out expeditions into the eastern forests on the one hand and toward the Pacific Ocean on the other. Southwardly he carried his rule considerably beyond Chuqui-apu, now La Paz. The people with whom he had to contend were Collas, not higher cultured than the Incas, albeit they lived in the heart of the region where the Tiahuanaco "empire" had flourished prior to the putative catastrophe already mentioned.

Capac Yupanqui, the fourth Inca (ca. 1230–1250) was sovereign during the time when further conquests southward were made in the highlands, and when the Inca domination upon the coast was inaugurated and assured by the addition of the littoral in the vicinity of Nasca, Acarí and Arequipa to the Inca realm.

We have now reached the end of what may be termed the Early Inca Period. It is a

time characterized by the carrying out with notable success of a series of preliminary conquests. The foes of the Incas at this period were evenly matched with them in point of culture and of strength. In one way or another the Inca tribe of Cuzco always won out in its wars, and, by means of skillfully consolidating the additions to its territory and its subjects, it built up an ample dominion, one of sufficient strength to meet successfully the sterner struggles of the future.

In the Middle Inca Period, Rocca II is the first Sapa Inca or sovereign, for the Incas may now safely be called a royal clan. In his day (ca. 1250–1315) conquests in the South were of but slight importance in comparison with those made in the North. The latter brought him into hostile contact with the first of the stronger foemen whom the Incas had to vanquish, that is, with the Chanca confederation, a society which had been growing in much the same fashion as that of the Incas, one which controlled large regions in the highlands north of Cuzco.[13] He tried out his

strength against these people, and his wars with them were a sort of overture to those which took place later. Comparatively speaking, the martial activities of Rocca II were modest; he seems to have devoted a generous measure of his attention to internal reforms and to material progress in several directions.[14]

Yahuar Huaccac (ca. 1315–1347) was really named Cusi Hualpa, but the name Yahuar Huaccac, He-who-weeps-blood, is the one by which he is generally known. He was anything but able and valiant. The conquests made during his reign were all in the South, and they seem to have been made by his generals rather than by the Inca himself. Seeing his pusillanimous nature, the Chancas, who doubtless perceived that strife was inevitable, determined to rid themselves forever of the menace of Inca domination. In this emergency, Yahuar Huaccac conducted himself with characteristic cowardice, the situation being saved only by the illegal, but providential, interference of the Sapa Inca's son, Viracocha. The advancing hosts of the

Chanca confederation were valiantly met by Prince Hatun Tupac at the plain of Xaquixaguana, now called Anta or Zurite. This plain is some leagues to the North of Cuzco. Because of its wide expanse and because of the fact that it commands the approach to Cuzco from the North, it has been a battle-ground for centuries. Legend tells us that Prince Hatun Tupac was strengthened and encouraged by a visitation from the god Viracocha whose name he adopted and to whose honour he erected a great temple at Urcos, south of Cuzco. This battle of Xaquixaguana was undoubtedly the crisis of the Inca dynasty's career. On the slopes of the mountains round about the plain throngs of the Inca's vassals watched in the rôle of calculating neutrals to see in which direction the tide of combat would turn, and when the Chancas seemed to be doomed they hastened down to take a hand in their vanquishment. Had Viracocha lost this battle, the Chancas, and not the Incas, would have been dominant in the mountains thenceforth.[15] After the day

was won, Viracocha moved his father into retirement and he himself assumed control of the dominion. The site of the battle became a favourite residence of his, and the wonderful terraces of his palace of Caquia Xaquixaguana (My refuge Xaquixaguana) may still be seen.[16]

During the reign of Viracocha (ca. 1347–1400) many reforms and improvements were effected within the dominion. It is probable, likewise, that some of the people far to the South, in the region of Tucuman, voluntarily came into the empire. The territories formerly subject to the Chancas were also consolidated in the usual thorough-going manner of the Incas.[17]

With the Inca Pachacutec (ca. 1400–1448) we come to the beginning of the great or Late Inca Period. Large sections of the mountains and an important part of the coast were all solidly a part of the Inca empire. The remainder of the coast was still the seat of a series of societies more highly civilized than any of the mountaineers. It was now the

task of the Incas to overcome these advanced and formidable confederacies on the littoral. The latter had long been at war among themselves; they had all manner of weapons and fortifications; their cities were stoutly defended by massive walls and by fighters with spear-throwers, slings and other weapons perhaps superior to those which the highlanders then knew.[18] In the long strife upon which the Inca dynasty of Cuzco now entered they found foemen whom they could not scorn as being inferior to themselves in point of material culture and social organization; they met opponents from whom they might—and did—learn much in many ways; they encountered enemies upon whom they could not impose their own institutions in their totality and with whom, perforce, they had to compromise with respect to such matters as religion, language, art-forms and architecture.[19]

At the time when Pachacutec, whom the late Sir Clements Markham hailed as "The best all-round genius produced by the native

race of America",[20] came to the Inca-ship, the coast, north of that part of it already held by the Incas, was ruled by four great chiefs each of whom had vassal chiefs under his authority. The four great lords were, beginning in the South, the chief of Chincha, the lord of Runahuanac (by name or by title Chuquimancu), the chief of Pachacamac (whose title was Cuismancu and who ruled a wide expanse of coast lands, rivalled only by him whom the Incas called Chimu Capac), the Great Chimu, who was the last of the four great lords, and who held sway over the entire coast from Huaman (now la Barranca) up to the Chira River, and perhaps beyond.[21] It is to be understood that these coastal domains were rather loose-jointed and feudal in their political institutions. Originally each separate valley, bordered by the deserts, the mountains and the sea, had been a self-containing political entity. But, by a process similar to that which has been noted in the highlands, the stronger chiefs gradually overawed and subdued their weaker neighbours,

permitting them to rule on as vassal kings. Thus were extensive feudal states built up in the course of time, and it was with them that the Inca had now to contend, for they banded together, forgetting their own border warfares, to combat him, the common enemy. The conquest of the coastal lordships occupied a long stretch of years, but at length, thanks to martial strength and strategic cunning, thanks likewise, no doubt, to timely diplomatic blandishments and to judicious compromise, it was an accomplished fact, Pachacutec being the leader in the vast undertaking. The Incas now found themselves the acknowledged sovereigns of league upon league of well-tilled coastal valley, of thousands of high-cultured dwellers in the valleys, and of many an imposing town, much more imposing, indeed, than their own yet were. In a word, with Pachacutec the Incas were at the zenith of their development. It is true that their rule was wider spread in later reigns, but it is doubtful if their power and worth were truly greater.[22]

The next sovereign of the Inca dynasty was Tupac Yupanqui (ca. 1448–1482). He followed in the footsteps of his father, adding large regions in what is now Ecuador to his empire. In that country, on both shore and highlands, native cultures of considerable vigour had long flourished.[23] It is not yet made clear what their history may have been, save in the broadest terms. It seems not impossible, however, that the dynasty of Quito, called Caran Scyri, may have had a history and a development much like that of the earlier Incas. The dwellers on the coast of Ecuador are still a great puzzle to investigators. In addition to these conquests, Tupac Yupanqui consolidated those begun in the highlands to the South by his father. He likewise, either in person or through his generals, added about half of modern Chile to his realm, coming in contact there with the hardy, brave, unconquerable Araucanians whose valour was such as to win immortality for them from the words of Ercilla y Zuñiga.[24] Likewise, a beginning was made of an unsuc-

cessful effort to subdue the savage Chiriguanas who were a part of the great Guarani stock of the eastern forests.[25]

Under Huayna Capac (1482–1525) there was but little conquering, save some minor military activities in the eastern portions of the empire both north and south of Cuzco. The extraordinary indigenous empire was at the fullest development territorially to which it ever attained. It is vain, at this distant time, to try and make flat statements which, in the nature of things, can never be either proved or disproved with finality. Nevertheless, when one observes the state of the Inca realm as it was between 1525 and 1531, he can not help thinking that the initial burst of expansive energy which had called the empire into being five centuries before had about spent its force, that the empire, if left unmolested a few generations more, would have broken up into its original elements.

Many things point to the probability of the Inca empire being, in 1531, a state menaced by permanent disintegration, if not by actual

collapse and ruin. Huayna Capac's legitimate heir was Titu Cusi Hualpa (better known as Huascar), who was the son of the Sapa Inca's chief wife. He had another son, however, by a secondary wife, who was probably, but not surely, a daughter of the vanquished royal house of Quito.[26] This son, Atahualpa, was more dearly beloved by the old Inca than was Huascar, and so Huayna Capac made him his heir so far as the northern portion of his realm was concerned, leaving only the southern two-thirds, with Cuzco as their capital, to Huascar. It is, of course, within the bounds of possibility that the Sapa Inca's intention was wiser than his act. He may have perceived that the empire was becoming unwieldy, and he may have hoped that, by dividing it thus into two independent parts, he would give to each a new lease of life, just as a plant is invigourated by pruning, and by a lopping off of branches. If this was his intention and desire, however, it was not productive of the good results he hoped for, because both Huascar and Atahualpa were

ambitious, and both aspired to hold the same power that had been held by their father. As a result of this, civil war broke out between the two, and Ttahua-ntin-suyu was being wrenched and weakened by it when the Spaniards came in 1531–1532.

If the fact of civil war is such as to suggest that the Inca empire was degenerate, it is by no means the only thing which points in that direction. Beginning humbly enough, the Incas had gradually increased their prestige and power. The earlier sovereigns of the dynasty had married the daughters of neighbouring *sinchis* with whom they sought alliance. As time went on, however, they developed a dynastic haughtiness, a quaint tribal snobbishness, which caused them to hold themselves aloof from and vastly superior to even the highest of their vassals. Incestuous marriages resulted from this tendency, the earliest being that of Viracocha with his sister Mama Runtucaya.[27] Perhaps this custom, combining with the bad example set by the morally nasty people of some parts of

the coast, was the cause of a real physical degeneracy on the part of the later Incas. At all events, we know that Huayna Capac was a sick man, and it is by no means impossible that his ailment was syphilis or some kindred disease.[28]

Such, in very brief form, was the history of the Inca empire. It now remains for us to say something about its institutions and its material culture.

Methodicity is perhaps the most prominent characteristic feature of Inca political institutions. In their early days, they continued in office those *sinchis* whom they conquered, each tribe preserving its internal organization composed of the heads of families. The family, and not the individual, was the basis and unit of society. Extending this policy to their future and later conquests, the Incas mediatized those coastal chiefs whom they overcame, only gradually systematizing and regulating the internal political mechanism of their possessions. In the last reigns of the Inca period there was an elaborately

methodical, but very effective, hierarchy of administrators, beginning with the heads of families and working up to the formerly independent province with its mediatized *curaca* or chief. These, in turn, yielded obedience to the governor of one of the four great provinces who, finally, were answerable to the Sapa Inca himself. The Incas showed great astuteness in thus adapting to their needs social institutions already established in use.[29]

The need of such a system was created by the nature of the fundamental policies of Inca rule. Two conceptions as to character of that rule may easily be formed from a study of the materials at our disposal. To judge merely by what we read in the pages of Pedro Pizarro and in those of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, the subjects of the Sapa Inca were in a doleful plight indeed. According to such writers there never has been a government more all-pervasive, not to say meddlesome, than that of the Incas. They portray a state in which individual free-will and personal liberty of action were practically non-existent.

Every least little thing was liable to regulation and supervision by the government. There were "overseers" by the score, all making the most intimate examination into the personal affairs of the people. All society, women as well as men, was divided up into groups on a basis of the amount of work they could do. At every angle of his existence, the subject of the Sapa Inca daily encountered some functionary representing the supreme and sacrosanct authority of the sovereign. Blind obedience and unquestioning self-abnegation must ever be accorded.

Such is one of the two possible interpretations. Is it just? Is it complete? Many modern students, including Sir Clements Markham, have thought that the lot of the people as a whole was not by any means unhappy. Elsewhere[30] the present writer has presented this brighter side of the picture. Granting that governmental supervision was very wide spread, is such supervision, properly directed, necessarily productive of woe among the masses? Can the

miserable state of some of the peoples in the Andes of today justly be said to have been caused by the rigid governmental control of Inca days? History clearly proclaims that it can not, for there were in pre-Columbian Peru many vestiges, still full of real vigour, of that basic democracy which characterized the old *ayllu*. The head of the family still held much power, and he could still lift up his voice with telling insistence in the tribal assembly. He could still bring his complaint before his sovereign in person. Primogeniture was a practice of but slight rigidity among those people; if a young son by a secondary wife possessed more personal merit than the older sons of the primary wife, he could, if he wished, make that greater merit felt in a variety of ways. A man humbly born, if richly endowed by nature, could rise to positions of great trust. Justice and an attitude of fair-mindedness were prevalent. Social atrocities were unknown, at least so far as we can now judge, in the Andes prior to 1531, albeit militant

expansiveness, very much like that of Rome, was the rule. The fact that a total lack of the myriad economic irritations resultant from the use of specie or its substitutes was done away with by the non-existence among them of pecuniary considerations likewise did much to soften what might otherwise have been a rigourous system. Finally, a policy of quid pro quo was steadfastly adhered to; if much was demanded of the subject much was done for him. He need never fear hunger, nakedness, idleness or lack of shelter. If illness or old age overtook him, the state gave him all that he needed for comfort and well-being, and there was no humiliation involved in the acceptance of state aid, for it was given in exchange for the individual's services during his, or her, more vigourous years.

For religious purposes another hierarchy, with various grades of male and female members, existed. Characteristically, and like the Romans, the Incas usually made no attempt to blot out local cults provided only that their

own worship of the Sun, the Moon, and the Planets, was acknowledged as the official religion. The earlier and loftier adoration of an unseen God, called variously Viracocha, Irma, Con, or Pachacamac, a Creator-God of noble type, seems to have survived into Inca times, and to have been the property of the Inca tribe itself, in addition to the Sun-cult just mentioned. It is quite clear that there were wide gulfs, philosophically speaking, between the ruling class and the commonalty, for we have folklore which shows us that the Incas themselves were by no means wanting in sound ethical and philosophical concepts.[31]

In the matter of architecture, art, way of living, and in all the other aspects of material culture, the Incas manifested the same orderliness, the same methodicity and the same love of logical balance and rhythm that they displayed in everything else. They were apt pupils. Their growth with regard to architecture alone shows this. They were a people very like the Japanese in that they could seize with avidity upon good elements in the culture

of other folks and could weave adaptations of some of that alien culture's best elements into the fabric of their own civilization. Their earlier buildings were simply built, of uncut stones laid in mud. They were neither beautiful nor commodious nor solid. They were shelters, and rude ones, against the inclemencies of Andean climate. They were buildings no better than the peasant-dwellings of pre-Revolutionary France or the Shetland Island turf-huts of today. At Lake Titicaca, however, the Incas found vestiges of earlier buildings which stimulated them to learn the art of stone-cutting in which their predecessors had been so proficient. Structures of their middle period, such as some of the palaces at Cuzco and on the shores of Lake Titicaca, and, especially, the great temple of Viracocha at Urcos, show their progress. On the coast, when they came thither, they found huge cities of austere grandeur and awe-engendering size the architecture of which offered much nourishment to their imaginations. So, in the last

days of their career we find the Incas building cities and fortresses like Pisac, Machu Pichu, Cañar, Riobamba and Tomebamba. The outstanding features of these places is the magnificent masonry, quite without mortar, composed of perfectly dressed stones laid in faultlessly regular tiers. Most of the walls are straight, but here and there a round or an oval tower lends variety to the whole. The effect is one of splendid though stern solidity, and of infinitely painstaking workmanship. The Inca genius was not one which, in comparison with that of the coast dwellers, lent itself to exuberant colouration; rather it sought perfection of form, and regularity of mass. Richly sombre tones, relieved perhaps with the dull glint of gold or silver, made the interiors of Inca palaces voluptuously but darkly splendid. This was more so in Cuzco itself, probably, than elsewhere, for the usual building-stone there was a dull brown product of the vicinity, whereas on the coast adobe lent itself to mural painting, and in other

parts of the highlands brilliant pinkish-white granite was employed to a large extent.

The civilization which the Spaniards extinguished was, then, a very remarkable one. Yet, undeniably, it had lacks and limitations which prevented its rising out of the lower groups of civilizations. Among these the chief perhaps were the ignorance of writing, of wheeled vehicles, of iron, of milk and of efficient beasts of burden. To be sure, the Incas with their wonderful path-building ability, their careful administration aided by post-runners and beacon-fires, their skill in subjecting unruly elements by means of moving recalcitrant populations bodily into loyal districts, were able to accomplish very much in spite of the limitations under which they laboured. But all this only serves to make it more plain that their fundamental misfortune, like that of the Central American civilizations, was the utter isolation which robbed them of all that stimulating contact with outside peoples which would have sent them ahead by long strides.[32]

The Status of Spanish Rule in America in 1531

After the first voyage of Columbus, in 1492, the growth of Spanish control in the New World was rapid but, on the whole, erratic. The coasts of the South American land-mass, the West Indies, and Florida were well understood as early as 1507. Then, in 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean and in so doing heard the first vague and enticing rumours of the Inca empire. In 1517 Hernandez de Cordova made a voyage which began the extension westward of the Spanish rule, for up to that time the rich territories bordering upon the Gulf of Mexico and including the great Aztec state and the wrecks of the Maya empire had remained unknown to the Christians. In the following year his explorations were continued and supplemented by those of Grijalva. These two men voyaged along the northern and western coasts of the peninsula of Yucatan. By some strange trick of Fate, Yucatan acquired the reputation of being an island, and

it did not win quite free of that character for many decades, though a map of about 1530, more authoritative than others, shows it as a peninsula.

The year 1519, however, is remarkable as showing us the beginning of the conquest by Spaniards of a native American civilization really formidable in quality. In that year Fernando Cortes began his spectacularly brilliant conquests in Mexico, where, by subduing the peoples controlled by the Aztec power of Tenochtitlan, he established a bi-racial society no less important and interesting than that founded in Peru by Pizarro. In November, 1523, Pedro de Alvarado (who also took part in the conquest of Peru) began the reduction to vassalage of the Cakchiquel-Quiché peoples of Guatemala. In the years 1524 and 1525 Cortes made his famous overland journey from southern Mexico to the Gulf of Honduras by way of Peten Itza, thus first bringing Spain into contact with those sturdy Itzas, vestiges of the Maya of long ago, who were not finally reduced until 1696. Finally, in 1526, Francisco

de Montejo the Elder and his son of the same name inaugurated their efforts to subdue the northern Maya states of Yucatan, the conquest of which was consummated in 1542.

All of these experiences were, inevitably, of value to the men who conquered Peru, for they gave an ability in the methods of fighting required and the sort of diplomacy most needed. Spain when she entered in upon her enterprise in the Andes was no tyro. She had worked out, at least to her own satisfaction, what were the best policies to pursue toward the natives and what were the most efficacious means of governing them. From her own institutional complex Spain selected various governmental and agrarian elements which, in Mexico, Yucatan and elsewhere, she put into force. Chief among institutions of this sort were the repartimientos (allotments of Indians) and the encomiendas (allotments of land, usually with its inhabitants as labourers), for these had been used by the Aragonese in their conquest of the Balearics under Jaime el conquistador (thirteenth century).

At the same time, the Spaniards in America learned that, though the intentions of the sovereign were most benign, his power, at such a vast distance, was weak in practice, and his wrath could easily be evaded. So self-seeking colonists in Mexico and elsewhere developed the custom of distorting native social institutions so as to make them serve their own unrighteous ends. In a short time an unjust attitude of mind crystallized itself into an honoured tradition, and the rapacity of colonists fed itself unrestrictedly upon the multitude of opportunities for exploitation which came to hand. Thus was created in the North a set of inter-racial grievances which were presently duplicated in South America, partly through the direct agency of men who had participated in the events in Mexico and Central America.[33]

Geographical Aspects of the Work of Pedro Pizarro

Being, as he was, one of the earliest writers on Peru, it is, perhaps, inevitable that Pedro

Pizarro should furnish us with valuable geographical data. On the whole, however, it is somewhat astonishing that we do not get from him more than we do.

It should be noted at the outset that the indigenes of the Andes were by no means lacking in a geographical consciousness. In the time of the Inca Pachacutec (ca. 1400–1448) they had for generations been growing in political power; Inca armies had long been subduing new regions and strange tribes. It was but natural that these conditions should create in the ruling class what we may call a geographical sensibility. Therefore we need not be especially surprised when we read of the use of some sort of relief-maps modelled in clay, maps which were made for the Inca Pachacutec and his successors. No doubt these relief-maps were crudely executed (though it is doubtful that they were more so than some of the Christian maps which we shall examine presently). Nevertheless, their purpose was truly geographic. They were instruments used in connexion with one of

the most effective elements of the Inca administrative mechanism. This was the system of transferred colonies, *mitimacuna* in Quechua and *mitimaes* in Castilian. These colonies were of varying sizes and they were established for divers reasons. If, for example, the Sapa Inca found some community in the highlands which was but recently brought within the territory subject to him to be unruly, the system of transferred colonies enabled him to transport that community bodily to some other region where it would be surrounded by other communities sincerely loyal to him. By their new neighbours the *mitimacuna* would presently be either cowed or inveigled into obedience to the Sapa Inca. It is not to be supposed that rulers so sagacious as the Incas did such things without due consideration of the geographical factors involved. Here it was that the relief-maps were used. By studying them the Inca could form some idea of the natural environment of those whom he proposed to transplant, and he could pick out for them some destination suitable in this

respect to their qualities. Transferred colonies were also used for military purposes and to exploit undeveloped regions.

Another manifestation of the geographical sensibility of the Incas is to be seen in the arrangements which they made in connexion with their conquest of the coast valleys. Their soldiers, being large-lunged mountaineers inured by many centuries of hereditary modification to highland conditions, found the warm and thick-aired littoral regions very onerous. This situation was met by a system of relays established by the later Incas. An army was formed for service on the coast, but within a short space of time it was relieved by a new army fresh from the highlands.

Finally, in the course of their evolution from an humble tribe surrounded by others equally strong into a proud and imperial dynasty ruling by force or by intellectual and spiritual terrorism over widely divergent peoples, the Incas developed the habit of dividing up the land into provinces, some of

them, if not all, having a sound foundation in ethnic facts. When their empire reached its ultimate dimensions they arbitrarily created four *suyu* or quarters. Cuzco was the centre of reckoning as, indeed, it was the focus of all things in Ttahua-ntin-suyu, the Land of the Four Provinces. To the North lay Chincha-suyu; to the East spread Anti-suyu; in the South was Colla-suyu, the land of the Colla folk; and in the West Cunti-suyu extended down to the southern valleys of the shore-lands.

It is upon this phase of Inca geographical lore that Pedro Pizarro throws valuable light. What he has to say upon the subject will be found toward the end of the *Relación*.

According to him, Puerto Viejo and its region was a province. It included what is now the Ecuadorian coast from Esmeraldas southward to and beyond Manta. Some parts of this extensive region were covered with humid and pestilential jungles through which plant-choked rivers ran; other parts were dry and sterile like the Peruvian coast

further south. At the time of the Inca conquest, and in the early Spanish times, the people of this district were comparative savages, though archeology reveals the fact that the region had been the seat of much more highly developed societies. It is very questionable if the Incas consolidated this region as thoroughly as they did others, for with the exception of fine large emeralds, it did not contain much to attract them. The people were very bestial in their habits.

Concerning the Island of la Puna which, according to our author, was the next province, more may be said. It lies at the mouth of the Guayaquil River. In appearance the Island is very pleasing, for it has steep bluffs about one hundred and fifty feet in height around its edge. Inland, the country presents a park-like appearance, having many open spaces with trees and shrubs, neither of them particularly tropical in character, distributed here and there. The climate is not especially hot, due to the proximity of the open sea, though up the river true trop-

ical conditions assert themselves. The Island, which is some twelve leagues in circumference, was subject to a curaca or chief whose name or title is given in various forms, Tumpala, Tumpalla, Tumbala or Tumbal being the more common ones. At the time of the conquest by Huayna Capac or by his generals, the chief of la Puna was allied with the chief of the region further up the river, a region called Huancavillca. Tumpalla, when faced with invasion by the Inca forces, behaved with singular cunning and treachery, pretending first to receive the Inca's emissaries in an amicable spirit, and later treacherously turning upon them. At the time when Pizarro and his men arrived upon the scene the people of la Puna seem to have lost none of their old truculency.

In telling us that Tumbez, Solana and Pariña formed the next province, Pedro Pizarro as much as declares that the Tumbez valley, the upper reaches of the Chira valley and the northwardly coasts of the Bahia de Payta formed a geographical unit. This

must be due to a mistake on his part, for it is impossible to conceive on what basis Pariña and Solana, far removed by deserts from the valley of Tumbez on the North, can be regarded as part of the Tumbez region. It is possible that Pedro lumped them together thus for convenience's sake rather than for any other reason. Tumbez itself lies in a broad and fertile valley, much like all the other coast valleys, save that, in the more sheltered places, it is more intensely tropical than those further south. The people whom the Incas found there were like the tribes of la Puna and Porto Viejo (Manta) in that they lacked completely all personal decency. They were constantly at war with their neighbours, especially with the folk of la Puna. The Inca built among them the small and inconspicuous fort now called la Garita (the outpost), but he does not seem to have found it worth while to erect more pretentious structures in the district, for no remains of such are now to be seen. Candia, it will be remembered from reading Pedro

Pizarro's text and other early accounts, when set ashore at Tumbez in 1527, brought back astounding accounts of what he had seen. In 1532, however, these were found to be mere figments of the Greek soldier's imagination, and Tumbez was seen to be but a poor place.

Under the names of Tangarala, la Chira and Pohechos Pedro Pizarro states that the Chira valley is the next coast province. In pre-Spanish days it was, as it still is, a thickly populated and very productive valley. To the North of it rises the Sierra de Amotape or la Brea, now the site of rich oil-fields; to the South stretches out the great Payta desert. Between the two rolls the broad perennial stream of the Chira, with richly green banks where all manner of fruits and flowers vie in abundance with the fine cotton plants of the valley. Solana, near the upper end of the valley, and not to be confused with Sullana further down, is, like Pohechos or Poechos and la Chira (now Sojo), distinguished by the presence of remains of large

edifices. Unfortunately no stratification of pottery types has yet been established in this region, but a study of those remains which may be seen in private collections, supplemented by inquiries into folklore and history, reveals the probability of the Chira valley having been at least nominally subject to the Chimu before it became vassal to the Inca.

"Piura, Sarran Motupe, Cinto and other small valleys as far as Chimo" constitute, according to Pedro Pizarro, the next littoral province. Thus gaily does he leap across the great Payta desert and the still greater desert of Sechura, to say nothing of those immense stretches of sandy desolation further down the coast. Yet there is considerable justification for his haste. It is undoubtedly true that all these fertile and thickly peopled valleys, separated though they were by leagues of desert, were subject to the rule of the Chimu when the Inca conquered them. Archeological evidences of Chimu occupation are plentiful in all of them. It is, then, not

unreasonable of our author to group them together thus. At the time the Spaniards arrived they had, no doubt, formed a political group under the Incas, just as they very likely had under the Chimu, and so it was only natural that these northern valleys of the old Chimu state should have been regarded as a province by the new invaders. Archeology also proves that the Incas occupied this district intensively.

In like manner Pedro Pizarro groups together the valleys between Chimo (Chimu, now Trujillo in the Chicama-Moche valley), they eleven or twelve in number, the most important being those of Guañape, Santa, Casma and Parmunca (now Paramonga). None of these is named by Pedro Pizarro. The last-mentioned was, in just pre-Inca times, the frontier of the Chimu state toward the South. Here again, it is excusable to link the valleys together into a province, in spite of the natural boundaries which separate them. The Chimu government, and its successor the Inca government, over-

rode these natural delimitations, and erected, no doubt, some sort of administrative delimitation which also ignored them. The great fortress of Parmunca was augmented by the Inca conquerors to its present dimensions, partly as a means of impressing the coast folk, and partly as a means of defense against rebellions.

"Lima, Pachama [*sic*], Chincha, Yca, Lanasca, as far as Hacari" was the next province, so Pedro informs us. Again, as often before, there is an apparent violation of geographical logic in this classification. But it is only apparent. In earlier times, it is true, these valleys were divided up into different and much smaller political groups; but, when the Inca conquest took place, the chief of Chincha, as powerful as the Chimu, had welded them into one strong confederation.

South of the Chincha confederation was a stretch of coast from the valley of Tambo (Tambo de Moro, perhaps, or Islay) down to "Tapaca" (Tarapacá, no doubt). Pizarro says nothing about it. In early times it

had no interesting history, and its people were undeveloped compared with those to the North of them. The Incas moved some Colla mitimacuna into the higher-lying parts of the region.

Turning now to what Pedro Pizarro has to say about the provinces of the interior we find that he is governed by the same considerations as controlled him in speaking of the coast. He makes Quito a province by itself. In 1532 the Incas had not been masters of the region for very long. Before their conquest of it Quito had had a dynasty and an individuality of its own. This last is carefully preserved by the classification of our author.

What is now southern Ecuador was the seat of a powerful and warlike folk called Cañari. This differentiation is also made clear by Pedro Pizarro who, however, throws in the "Tomebambas" (presumably Tomepampas) and the "Cajas" with the Cañaris. Whom he meant to indicate by these names is obscure, but presumably he had in mind

some of the innumerable minor folk-groups of the region.

Caxamalca (Cajamarca), Guamalchuco (Huamachuco), and Guambos were really distinct communities. In pre-Inca times they were links in the long chain of moderately developed mountain societies of which the Inca tribe itself had once been a link.

The same statement may be applied to Guailas (Huayllas), the next province according to Pedro Pizarro, to Taramá (Tarma), Atabillos and Bombon (anciently Pumpu), which form the next province.

Then comes Pedro Pizarro's province of Xauxas Guancas. In this name we see a running-together of the names of the region, Xuaxa (anciently Sausa, now called Jauja), and of the people, Huanca. These people had a peculiar cult of the dog, and they delighted in eating its flesh. They likewise made drums out of dog skulls. These barbarous customs were sternly repressed by the Incas.

Of the following provinces, Soras and Lluc-

anas, Chachapoyas, and Guanca Chupachos, only the second requires special comment. Chachapoyas is here mentioned out of its logical place, for it is much further north than the other provinces just mentioned. At Cuelap and other sites in Chachapoyas there are many strikingly interesting remains of a culture which seems clearly not to be Quechua, but which has elements calling to mind the Chimu or Mochica culture of the coast and the Colla culture of the Titicaca basin. How old these remains are is as yet unknown. When the Incas conquered Chachapoyas (then called Chachapuya) they found it in the hands of a warlike but not highly developed people whom they had considerable difficulty in subduing. It is clear, however, that Pizarro had a right to regard the region in question as a distinct province.

Guamanga (later Huamanga, now Ayacucho) is Pedro's next province. It was anciently held by the fierce Pocras tribe.

The province of Andaguailas, or rather its

inhabitants, the Chancas, is associated with the first long step toward imperial power made by the Incas. It is quite clear that they had not long been resident in the region where Viracocha found them and fought against them. They had a social organization similar to that of the people of Cuzco in early Inca times, and, at the time of their struggle with the growing power of Cuzco, they were divided up into three rival groups each with its own chief.

Parcos de Orejones is the next province in Pedro Pizarro's enumeration. The suffix, "de Orejones" is accounted for by the fact that at some time or other it was settled or garrisoned by Cuzco nobles (orejones).

In stating that the succeeding provinces are "called Vilcas, . . . Avancay, Aporima, Tambo, Xaquixaguana and Cuzco" Pedro Pizarro makes a significant statement, especially when he adds to it "these are nearly all separate". Vilcas is often called Vilcashuaman. It was an important centre in Inca times, as the great number of remains of

ancient buildings thereabout testifies. Aporima is now called Apurimac. The name signifies "The Mighty Speaker" doubtless in reference to the roar of the torrent through its majestic and narrow chasm. The temple there, described by our author and others, seems to have had some of the functions of an oracle. Tambo, anciently Tampu, and now called Ollantaytambo, was evidently of importance even in Tiahuanaco times, if we may judge by the architectural and other remains that have been found there. It is a narrow valley with a flat and very fertile floor. Here and there one sees a long line of anden or terrace-walls constructed by the subjects of the Inca to aid the agriculturists. Xaquixaguana, now called Zurite or Anta, presents a sharp contrast to the Urubamba valley at Ollantaytambo (into which it drains) for the reason that it is at once loftier and more open. The plain itself is a vast expanse of flat barley- and wheat-fields. Here and there are large bodies of shallow standing water which tend to turn the ground into

a deep and very sticky mire. The gently sloping and rounded hills which rise now and again above the general level are cultivated or otherwise utilized by man to their summits. No steep mountains with unstable talus slopes impinge upon the plain and necessitate a careful system of terracing. It is an admirable place for battles, and has been a battle-ground for centuries. Being likewise a valley of great charm and beauty, it has been a favourite residence of Inca chiefs. Of Cuzco, a plain very like that of Anta, it seems unnecessary to speak here. The inner significance of Pedro Pizarro's remarks about these places is this. In early Inca times these valleys were the seats of comparatively unpretentious tribal communities. Beginning modestly, the Incas conquered them one by one until the beginning of the reign of Rocca II. Individually each of these conquests was small from a point of view of territorial growth. It was then, and ever remained, the Inca policy to preserve the tribal identity of the conquered districts, and so each

of these valleys assumed, under Inca governance, the character of a province, in which character Pedro Pizarro reports them to us.

Concerning the territories to the South of Cuzco Pedro Pizarro is considerably less definite than he is about those to the North. With the exception of making note of the fact that the Pass of Vilcañota, not mentioned here by Pedro Pizarro, was and still is the frontier between the Quechua-speaking and the Colla-speaking mountaineers, it is not necessary to add anything by way of explaining our text.

With considerable fullness he speaks of the four quarters of the empire, that is, of the *suyus*, already referred to above. He tells us explicitly that Chincha-suyu included "the lands from Cuzco to Quito, which is almost four hundred leagues". Then he says that toward the Northern Ocean (the Atlantic) is the province of the Andes. By that name he wishes to indicate Anti-suyu, the Forest Region of the East. He makes it extend from what is now Eastern Ecuador far down

into what is now Argentina, including in his Anti-suyu a vast range of peoples and tribes about which we at present know very little. He then says: "The third part they called Collasuyu because the Indians of this Collao call themselves Collas". In this remark we have irrefutable proof that the name "Aymará" now generally fixed on these people is apocryphal, and that the term "Colla" should be reinstated in ethnological nomenclature. The Cunti-suyu (our author's Condesuyo) was the least important of the four. It lay to the West and South-west of Cuzco, including the poorer portions of the coast and, later, Chile.

To summarize Inca geographical knowledge as embodied in the *Relación* of Pedro Pizarro it may be said that even when the Inca empire was at its height the formerly separate and independent tribal or political entities which were gradually added to it throughout the period of its growth did not lose their individuality, and that same in-

dividuality was carefully preserved in the form of provinces.

Having now briefly reviewed the status of geography in pre-Spanish days in the Andes, we must pass on to a consideration of the geographical facts relating to the period of the Conquest and to that stretch of time during which Spanish rule was establishing itself throughout the Andean region.

Pedro Pizarro, Cieza de Leon, Pedro Sancho, Gutierrez de Santa Clara, Calvete de Estrella, Garcilaso de la Vega and other early writers supply us with ample material for visualizing the Conquest. Interpreted in geographical terminology it was a series of military and political movements which began on the coast, at San Miguel (Tangarara). At that point the Spaniards had the preponderant portion of the Inca dominions to the South of them, but on the North lay the highland fastnesses of the very important Quito region. The coast and the mountains south of San Miguel alike presented difficulties, the one on account of its

vast deserts, the other on account of the ease with which its rugged passes and peak-encircled plains might have been defended. A less astute man than Francisco Pizarro might have begun his task by moving down the coast, conquering valley after valley as the Incas had done long before. What Pizarro actually did do, however, was much more availing. He led his forces up the Piura valley past Pabur or Pabor, and past Zarran. From the head of the Piura valley he dropped down to Motupe, which is near the coast, and from there he gradually worked inland to Cajamarca. The country through which he passed on this march is not difficult, and no formidable opposition was made to his progress. At Cajamarca he was so fortunate as to capture Atahualpa and, with him, the allegiance of most of the natives. The Spaniards had not as yet left the Pacific watershed. Hernando Pizarro was sent, however, to Pachacamac (January to April, 1533). He crossed over the continental divide. Then he marched southwardly, re-

crossing the divide near Antamarca. After that Hernando Pizarro moved along the western slopes of the Maritime Cordillera, passing up the higher reaches of the Santa River, which he crossed at Pachicoto on January 24, 1533. He reached the coast at Parmunca (now Paramonga) on January 27. Though Chalcuchima, with some 55,000 men, seems to have been hovering about, there seems to have been no great military engagement during all this while, and on February 5, 1533, he and his men arrived safely at Pachacamac. In March and April, 1533, Hernando Pizarro was journeying to rejoin the main body of Spaniards under his brother. The route which he followed led him up the coast to Huara or Huaura not far south of Parmunca, and thence he marched inland to Xauxa. There he had some diplomatic skirmishes with Chalcuchima. From there he marched northwards, rejoining Francisco Pizarro April 25, 1533.

Meanwhile, Sebastián de Benalcázar, who had been left in command at San Miguel,

had undertaken (without authorization) the conquest of the regions to the North. He marched up the Tumbez River and then through the inter-cordilleran highlands of what is now Ecuador, eventually mastering the whole of that part of the Andes, and founding a Spanish settlement at Quito in January (?), 1534.

In September, 1533, the united forces of Francisco and Hernando Pizarro began to march southwards from Cajamarca in the direction of Cuzco. In February a small scouting party had already been sent thither to report on the nature of the country and any hostile activities on the part of its people. On November 15, 1533, after a march which was distinguished by a number of military events, the army of Francisco Pizarro made its entry into Cuzco. Chalcuchima had fought with creditable gallantry, considerable unscrupulousness and complete non-success. He was put to death at Xaquixaguana, not far north of Cuzco.

With the entry into the city of Cuzco, the

Spanish conquest of Ttahua-ntin-suyu was completed, to all intents and purposes, for the events which followed were not so much conquest as they were repression. The geographical aspects of the Conquest may be summarized by saying that the main line of march lay along the inter-cordilleran valley, both in the Kingdom of Quito and in Peru proper. The significance of this fact is that, had Francisco Pizarro made his route lie along the shore, he would have thrown his flank open to disastrous peril from the forces of Chalcuchima who was at large with a numerous army in the mountains. As it was, Pizarro kept in good marching country with plenty of water supply which could not be interfered with (as that of the coast could have been by breaking down the irrigation ditches). The side-trip made by Hernando Pizarro performed the function of consolidating an important portion of the coast.

After the Conquest proper was thus finished, Pizarro caused various explorations and minor conquests to be made in a number of

directions, and by means of these, especially by means of Almagro's journey in Chile in 1535–1537, the whole country was examined, learned about and brought under Spanish governance.

Among the more important exploring expeditions was that of Francisco de Orellana who, having gone to Quito with Gonzalo Pizarro in 1542, deserted his leader most shamefully and discovered the great river Amazon or Marañon. The faithless man was brave and resourceful, however, and he navigated down the huge river to its mouth. His tales of what he had seen, and still more of what he said he had seen, won for him a royal commission in 1544, and he set forth with a fleet to explore still further. But a due fate overtook him at the last.

At about the same date (about 1542), Alonso de Alvarado and others entered and pacified the great regions of Chachapoyas and Moyobamba. In like manner, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro himself made a number of explorations throughout the coun-

try, and the lieutenants of Almagro, especially Rodrigo Orgoñez and Juan Saavedra, did much to open up the Charcas and the regions of Jujuy and Tucuman to Spanish settlement.

Thus, little by little, the Castilians learned about and conquered the vast South American continent. Many regions remained, and some still remain, unvisited by white men. All sorts of dangers, such as fiercely hostile Indians and soaring altitudes, were met and overcome by an undaunted courage so gallant as almost to palliate their many offenses against justice and their sometimes hideous cruelties. Theirs was a situation of peculiar peril; small numbers of Spaniards were winning a variegated empire of unknown extent, and they could conceive of no other sort of rule than that based upon might. Although we more enlightened folk of today deplore their methods we can not but admire their accomplishments. And many of them, their work done, met a reward fitted to their merits. Jerónimo Roman y Zamora says:

"Thou shalt give them the punishment which they deserve." He then goes on to discover in the deaths of Atahualpa, Francisco Pizarro, Juan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro the manifestation of the will of God. Who knows but what the good old friar was a wiser philosopher than more sophisticated men have been?

Some interesting information as to the progress of geographical knowledge in the Andes after the Conquest may be got from an examination of old maps. This is not the place for a detailed and exhaustive cartographical essay, however, so only a few of the more important points will be touched upon.

At the outset it is well to note the political aspects of the science of cartography as regards the colonies of Spain in America. The Casa de Contratación had, among many other officers, a pilot major and a cosmographer. These offices were filled by widely proclaimed competitive examinations. A standard map, the padrón real, was made by

the officials mentioned, and once a year it was brought up to date in accordance with the latest information received from navigators and others. Many distinguished men, such as S. Cabotto, A. de Santa Cruz and Diego de Ribero, contributed to the padrón. Nevertheless, many authors of maps failed to make them conform to the padrón. In 1535 a new one was made, and sailing-charts, general maps and globes were issued by private persons on the condition that they be corrected in accordance with the padrón.

Maps and map-making, then, had a definitely recognized place in the governmental system erected in America by Spain. It is to be supposed that many of the maps which we now have were compared with the padrón, which was kept at Seville.

The West Coast of South America appears on a map made by the Vesconde de Maggiolo about 1527. The original of the map is in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. The Andean region is called "Terra Incognita". The shore is not accurately portrayed.

In 1529 Diego Ribero made his map of the world at Seville. The original is now in the Museum of the Propaganda at Rome. South America is called "MVNDVS NOVVS". The outline is very good, although the West Coast is incomplete. The name "Perv" appears.

Information did not greatly increase until 1533. In that year Johann Schöner issued a globe on which the West Coast is outlined with fair accuracy. Knowledge was still chaotic, however, as is evidenced by the inscription: "America, Indiae superioris et Asiae continentis pars".

The year 1535 may be looked upon as the earliest which gives us true cartographical information about Peru and its neighbouring regions. In that year, or possibly as early as 1533 (though I very much doubt it), a Spanish map was made which is now known as the Wolfenbüttel-Spanish map. Up to 1914 it was in the Herzogliche Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel in Germany. According to Dr. E. L. Stevenson this map is dated 1525–1530,

which is obviously a number of years too early, for on the map we find among other details "Salinas de lacibdad de tumbez" [*sic*], "R. deS. migel" [*sic*], and "p. y prouincia delacibdad de rhinrhax" [*sic*]. This last item, which is an attempt at "puerto y provincia de la ciudad de Rimac", suggests that 1535 is the earliest possible date, for Lima or Rimac did not come into being until that year.

In the same year, 1535, Johann Schöner made what is now known as the Paris Wooden Globe on which "S. michaelis" (San Miguel) appears between seven and ten degrees south. The outline of both the maps just referred to is fair.

About 1536 Battista or Baptista Agnese made a map of North and South America. The original is now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. It is a map which must have been effected by Pizarro's discoveries and deeds, although Harrisse says that Pizarro's second trip can not have had anything to do with it. However, the nomenclature, in-

cluding "p. de S. tago" (Guayaquil) and "rio d. S. miquell", indicates that the results of his third and final trip (1531) were incorporated. The outline of South America is fairly correct, but the West Coast stops half way between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn. The legend "La provintia de Perv" appears.

The Atlas of Charles V (1539) likewise has "Perv provintia". Beginning with the map of the world made by Alonzo de Santa Cruz, the royal cosmographer, in 1542, we begin to get more detail. On this map we discover "y. delgallo", "R. de S. tiago", "R. de tumbes", "S. miguel", "puerto de paita", "palmōga" (Paramonga), "pachacara" (Pachacamac), and "chincha". All are more or less accurately located. The outline is fairly correct.

Sebastiano Cabotto's map of America, made in 1544 and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, shows the West Coast with notably good outline. Inland we find written "Tito prouincia" and "Peru prouincia". On the

coast are "rio de Tumbez", "S. migel", "payta", "La cyudad delosreyes", and "rio de ariquipa". Inland is "Ecusco".

From 1544 onward to 1554 there are a number of maps all having fairly good outlines and a considerable number of place-names. These last are usually located about correctly, but the mis-spellings are innumerable and amusing. One point must be noted. On the map of "Le Perov" given by Pierre Descliers in his Atlas printed at Arques (the original being in the British Museum) in 1550 "pacha-cama" is located correctly just south of "Lima les c. des Roys", but it appears again about where Cuzco should be, and S.W. of it, where Arequipa should be, is seen the towered city of "Caxamalco". This mistake was preserved in future maps, doubtless as a result of the conservative influence of the padrón.

The Amazon appears, but is not named, upon Gastaldi's map of the world published at Venice in 1554, the original being in the Biblioteca municipal at Turin. This map

has much detail which lack of space forbids me to specify here.

Diogo [*sic*] Homen published at Antwerp in 1559 a very good map of "Peru", with much detail and many place-names correctly located. Lake Titicaca, not named, however, is correctly placed. The outline is good. On the coast we find "guaiaquil" (on south bank of the river), "R. chira", with "S. migel" on its south bank; "paita", "pacasmaio", "tragillo" [*sic*], "Lima ciudad de los Reis", "pachacama" and "Arequipa" are all admirably located. It is a good map.

With the map of the world, in hemispheres, by Joan Martines, Messina, 1562, we come to the beginning of a very strange cartographical error which, in a certain group of maps, perpetuated itself for a long time. This map is fairly correct in outline save for the fact that the West Coast has, at the Tropic of Capricorn, an extraordinary west-jutting peninsula of great size.

This error was reiterated and made worse by Gerardus Mercator in his map of the

world, published at Duisburg in 1569. He has not only the Capricorn peninsula of Martines, but another much like it to the North. Abraham Ortelius in his Atlas, published at Antwerp, 1570, has just the same error, and it continues to present itself in the Mercator-Ortelius group of maps up to 1587 when Ortelius corrected himself. He was responsible for another serious error, namely the calling into being of a river which has the general form of the Piura river, but which rises at twelve and one half degrees south, at which point we see "Caxamalca", and flows north to five degrees south where we see "S. Miguel". This error lasted on in the Mercator-Ortelius group up to 1589.

The map of Paulo di Forlani da Verona, published probably at Venice about 1570 and reproduced by A. Lafréry about 1575, is well known. Copies of it are to be found in the Library of Congress and elsewhere. It is called "LA. DESCRITTIONE. DI. TVTTO. IL. PERV". On the whole it is a good map. The outline has no trace of the

influence of the Mercator-Ortelius group. Some of the place-names are badly located, the tendency being to put them too far south. "Lago Titicacha" is in the middle of the continent, at twenty-four to twenty-nine degrees south. "Lago Tichicasa" is the name given to Lake Aullagas; it is east of southern end of the big lake.

Cartography continued to make gradual progress throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century. In 1605 we may say that modern cartography really begins, for the world map by Willem Janszoon Blaeu made in that year in Holland (Amsterdam) differs only slightly from modern maps.

As a general thing we may say in summing up that geographical features near the shore of the continent became embodied in the maps earlier than those inland. Thus it is that such elements as Lake Titicaca were comparatively late in being so reported.[34]

The Life of Pedro Pizarro

Our author was born in Toledo about 1515. He was of good family, according to his own report, at least. His father was a brother of Gonzalo Pizarro the elder, and, consequently, Pedro was a first cousin of the Marquis Francisco Pizarro, and of the Hernando, Gonzalo and Juan Pizarros of the conquest.

When, in 1530, Marquis Francisco Pizarro went back to America after his prolonged sojourn at Court, young Pedro went with him as a page. He was intimately associated with all the chief events of the Conquest of Peru. From about the year 1533 onward, or about the time Cuzco, the ancient Inca capital, was reduced to Spanish rule, Pedro Pizarro was in active military service as a cavalryman. If we may accept his own report, written always in the third person, and by no means unduly boastful, he was a valiant soldier who took part in some of the most exciting and important military engagements of the day, most of them directly concerned with the war be-

tween Manco Inca and the Spaniards (1535–1536). Soon after this the city of Jauja claimed him as a citizen. Very soon afterward, however, he moved his residence to Cuzco. So young and energetic a man was not, however, induced to lead a sedentary life in such stirring days, and we find Pedro Pizarro one of the participants in the battle of las Salinas (26 April, 1538). But when, on August 15, 1539 or 1540, Arequipa was founded, he established himself there. In 1541 he was in Lima at the time of the Almagrist outbreak, and after the battle of Chupas (16 September, 1542) at which he was present, in the camp of C. Vaca de Castro, he was approached by his cousin, Gonzalo Pizarro, with all manner of tempting and flattering inducements to join the rebellion against the Crown which the latter was planning. He never did so, however, and he earned the enmity of Gonzalo Pizarro for his resistance. His loyalty to the Crown was, however, sullied by a rather cringing letter which he wrote to his cousin on 18 December, 1546,

and which fell into the hands of President de la Gasca. The letter, perhaps, is not much more than an evidence of vacillation, probably prompted by quite material considerations, for our author is never backward about claiming what he thinks to be his due. It was seized upon by de la Gasca, however, as an excuse for denying to Pedro Pizarro the rewards he claimed after the battle of Xaquixaguana (9 April, 1548).

Pedro Pizarro, for all he was never quite contented with his lot, might fairly have counted himself a rich and a well-rewarded man. On 28 November, 1538, Marquis Francisco Pizarro, his cousin, granted to him ample lands, together with curacas and Indian labourers, at Tacana (now Tacna), at Arequipa and elsewhere. Further grants, considerable in value, were made to him from time to time by various authorities.

In addition to having a natural daughter, Isabel Pizarro, born while he was very young, Pedro Pizarro had numerous legitimate children. His first wife was Maria Cornejo,

daughter of Miguel Cornejo, and a native of Arequipa, of which city her father was a founder. Their son, Martin Pizarro y Cornejo, was twice married, and his son, Francisco Pizarro y Casillas, founded an important family at Tacna which has lasted into our own day. Isabel Pizarro married a merchant of Potosí, named Miguel de Entrambasaguas; their descendants may still be found in the old mining metropolis of Upper Peru. Nothing is known about the second wife of Pedro Pizarro.

Neither do we know the date of our author's death, save that it was posterior to February 7, 1571, the day on which, at Arequipa, he concluded his *Relación*. He may have lived till 1602.

Though the literary style of Pedro Pizarro is anything but a model of clarity and precision, he wrote with a transparent sincerity and an evident desire to tell the truth. This quality, taken in conjunction with his unsurpassed opportunities for observation, makes

him one of the chief sources for data about the Conquest of Peru by the Spaniards.

NOTE.—This brief biography is based upon that of Carlos A. Romero. In Sr. Romero's biography will be found the letter to Gonzalo Pizarro here referred to. Sr. Romero states that, in 1602, the Viceroy Luis de Velasco, Marquis of las Salinas, made a grant to Pedro Pizarro. This, however, may have been a son of our author.

See:

PIZARRO, Pedro:

1917. Descubrimiento y Conquista del Peru. Introduction and Notes by Carlos A. Romero. Lima.

The Bibliographical Position of Pedro Pizarro

In estimating the importance of our author we must not fail to take into consideration his chronological and bibliographical relations to other authors. In dealing with the history of a land which was the seat of a remarkable native civilization, but which never had a written history until it was invaded by an alien people and veneered with an alien civilization, we must of necessity value most those written authorities which are at once earliest and most closely associated by personal con-

tact with the aboriginal civilization as it was in its unmolested state.

For the modern investigator of Andean history, then, it is well to divide up the various early writers into chronological groups or "schools". The first group will be that included between the perhaps arbitrarily selected dates 1530 and 1550. The second group lived and worked between 1550 and 1600. Finally, the third group of old writers came between 1600 and 1650. After that there is a hiatus of eighty years until, in 1732, Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo ushered in the modern period with his epic and well-documented historic poem "Lima fundada". This was followed in due course by the writings of Jorge Juan y Santacilia and Antonio de Ulloa (about 1748) and Tadeo Haenke (in the 1790's). Then the brilliant "Amantes del Pais" with their "Mercurio Peruano" began the more recent series of works dealing with the Andean countries and their history.

Pedro Pizarro ranks high in the first of these groups. He is an author of prime importance

for the history of the people of the Andes and of the events in connection with their conquest by Spain. It is true that others of the old writers are fully as important as Pedro Pizarro, and it is likewise true that they are not all in the first group. But in all cases of this sort it can be shown that the writer in question has received direct information from times contemporary with the Conquest, in which our author took an active part.

The leading men of the first group were as follows:

SÁAMANOS, Juan de: Relacion de los primeros descubrimientos de Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, sacada del códice numero CXX de la Biblioteca Imperial de Viena. This report was written by the secretary of Carlos V, in 1526. It contains the first account of the discoveries along the northwestern coast of South America as far as the present Ecuadorian territory. It was first published by Navarette in Vol. V, of the Col. de Doc. Inéd. para la Hist. de España, Madrid, 1844. Re-

printed by Saville, in Antiq. of Manabi, Vol. II, New York, 1910.

AGUSTINOS, Relacion de la Religion y Ritos del Peru, Hecha por los Primeros Religiosos Agustinos que alli Pasaron Para la Conversion de los Naturales. This work was compiled about 1550. It contains much material not given elsewhere. It was in Vol. LXXXVII of the Munoz collection. It may be found in the Coleccion de documentos ineditos del archivo de Indias, III, pages 5-58. Madrid, 1865.

ANDAGOYA, Pascual de: Born about 1495. In 1514 he went to America. In 1522 he made a voyage down the Pacific coast to some point in what is now Colombian territory. He then received the first really definite information about the Inca empire. He later became associated with F. Pizarro. Still later he was Adelantado at Popayan. He quarrelled with Benálcazar and returned to Spain. In 1546, however, he went back to Peru with Gasca, and he died in Cuzco in 1548. His work of historic importance is:

1540. Relación de los sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila en las provincias de tierra firme o Castilla del oro, y de lo ocurrido en el descubrimiento de la mar del sur y costas del Perú y Nicaragua.

Ms. in archives at Seville.
For modern editions, see Bibliography.

BENZONI, Girolamo: Born about 1520. He travelled in Spain's American possessions for some years between 1540 and 1556. The date of his death is not known. His work is superficial and full of gossip, but he gives much information which corroborates las Casas and other writers. He was an Italian. The illustrations in his work are, in some cases, of value as showing technological methods.

1565. La Historia del Mondo Nuovo. Venice.

BETANZOS, Juan (or José) de: Born about 1500. He was a soldier who took part in the Conquest of Peru, marrying a daughter of the Inca Atahualpa about that period. About 1551 he finished his work on the Incas. Eventually he settled down at Cuzco. Probably his death occurred after 1560. The Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza was his patron. At the Viceroy's instance Betanzos wrote:

1551 (about). Suma y Narración de los Incas. Ms. is at Madrid. This work was first men-

tioned, in 1729, by Gregorio Garcia in his Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo, published at Madrid.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

BORDONE, Benedetto: Flourished 1528–1535. Nothing is known about him, save that he was something of a geographer. Winsor states that he died in 1531.

1528. Libro di Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona di tutte l'Isole del Mondo con li lor nomi antichi & moderni. . . Venice.

1534. Isolario di Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona di tutte l'Isole del Mondo con li lor nomi antichi & moderni. . . Venice.

NOTE.—In this edition appears for the first time the letter of a Prefect of New Spain to Charles V in which many anecdotes of the Conquest are related.

Consult:

WINSOR, Justin:

1889. A Narrative and Critical History of America. Boston. 8 volumes. VIII, page 382.

BANCROFT, Hubert Howe:

1882–1883. History of Central America. San Francisco. 2 volumes. I, page 144.

CALVETE DE ESTRELLA, Juan Cristóbal de: Born about 1520. In 1542 he was in close at-

tendance upon Prince Philip, later Philip II of Spain. He undoubtedly had at his disposal first-hand information about events in Peru during the period of the Conquest. He died about 1565, or some time after that date.

1565–1567. Rebelión de Pizarro en el Perú. Ms. in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. For modern edition, see Bibliography.

CASAS, Bartolomé de las: Born in 1474. His father, Pedro or Francisco de las Casas, knew Columbus well and went to America with him in 1496. Bartolomé de las Casas himself went to Hispaniola in 1502. He travelled extensively in America during the ensuing years. For us it is important to note that he is said to have visited Peru in 1532, on the business of the Church. Indubitably he made enquiries into the history of the indigenes of the Peruvian region. In 1544 he was made Bishop of Chiapa, deliberately choosing a poor and laborious diocese. His personal character was of the saintliest description even though his zeal in freeing the American natives from bondage led him to

favour the importation of Negroes as slaves, a practice of ancient date in the American colonies. Las Casas died in Spain in 1566. His works were many, those of importance to us being:

1540 (?). De las Antiguas Gentes del Perú. This work was begun at about the date indicated. It probably originally formed a part of one of his numerous books.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

1552. Brevissima Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias. Seville.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

NOTE.—As an historian of the pre-Spanish period of Peru, las Casas holds a high position, for the reason that he got his information almost wholly at first hand. Antedating Blas Valera as he does, it is important to note that he distinctly mentions pre-Inca dynasties and civilizations.

Consult:

MACNUTT, Francis A.:

1909. Bartholomew de las Casas. New York.

CIEZA DE LEON, Pedro de: Born in 1519. He travelled in western South America 1534–1550. He was an eminently honourable, truthful and observing man. Any statement

made by him commands special consideration. He wrote most of his great works in America. He conducted careful enquiries into the history of Peru while at Cuzco and elsewhere. He died at Seville in 1560. Old editions of his works are:

1553. Parte Primera de la Chronica del Peru. Seville.

1554. Parte Primera de la Chronica del Peru. Antwerp.

NOTE.—The remainder of Cieza's work remained inedited until recent times when Marcos Jimenez de la Espada, Sir Clements R. Markham, and Manuel Gonzalez de la Rosa have brought out important parts of it. Some parts, however, are yet undiscovered. See Bibliography.

ENRIQUEZ DE GUZMAN, Alonzo: Born about 1500. He was a courtly and very amusing young adventurer with the bluest blood in Spain in his veins, an immense fund of conceitedness, and no money save what court favour procured for him. He was in Peru from 1535 to the time of the death of Almagro the elder in 1538. He had an important part in the events of that period. With the exception of our author and possibly of Pedro

Sancho, he was the only writer actually to see the occurrences of that day. He is mentioned by our author, and also by Garcilasso de la Vega (in his Segunda Parte, lib ii, Cap. 24). He was present at the interview between Pizarro and Almagro at Mala (13 November, 1537). He was a partisan of Almagro. His death took place about 1547. His frivolous and self-centred, but nevertheless charming, character prevented his work from being as full and valuable as he might have made it. There is no old edition of it.

For modern edition of The Life and Acts of Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman, see Bibliography.

Consult:

Pizarro y Orellana, Fernando de:

1639. Varones Ilvstres del Nvevo Mvndo. Madrid. Pages 178 and 325.

Gasca, Pedro de la: Born about 1520. He was of very noble families on both sides. According to modern usage his name would be Pedro Jimenez de Avila y de la Gasca, but for some reason he preferred to use only his mother's patronymic. The Emperor

Charles V sent him in 1546 to Peru, with the simple title of President of the Audience, but charged with powers and authority equal to those which the Emperor himself would have held. He wrote many letters to the Emperor to describe the course of events in Peru. He returned to Spain in 1550. He died about 1557.

1547–1549. Letters and Reports, written to various authorities, both in Spain and in America.

For modern editions of these letters, see Bibliography.

Consult:

SAVILLE, Marshall H.:

1917. Some Unpublished Letters of Pedro de la Gasca Relating to the Conquest of Peru. AASP, XXVII, pages 336–357.

GUTIERREZ DE SANTA CLARA, Pedro: Born about 1520, probably in the viceroyalty of Mexico. It is not impossible that his father was Bernaldino or Bernardino de Santa Clara. One Cristóbal Gutierrez de Santa Clara was an uncle of his. Both of these men were in the army which conquered Mexico for Spain. Perhaps the mother of Pedro Gutierrez was a

Mexican. He received a fair education. In 1544 he was in Peru where he took part in the Civil Wars (1544–1548) on the side of President Gasca. It is not known at what date he wrote his history, nor is the date of his return to Mexico known, save that it was prior to 1590. He was still alive in 1603. There is a singular lack of information about him, considering his importance.

1565 (?). Quinquenarios. This work is now known under the name Historia de las Guerras Civiles del Peru. The Ms. is in the Biblioteca Provincial de Toledo (Spain).

For modern edition, see Bibliography. The remarks made here are based upon the Prologo by Manuel Serrano y Sanz.

Molina, Cristóval de: Born about 1515. He was in Lima in 1539, and for many years after that he was chaplain in the hospital for natives at Cuzco. He was on terms of cordial friendship with all classes of the natives, and he knew their language, Quechua. He died about 1590. He is not to be confused with the Molina who lived in Chile at this time and wrote about the Indians.

1570–1584. Molina writing during this period. His work remained in Ms. (in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid) until recent times.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

ONDEGARDO, Polo de: Born about 1500. Very little is known about his life. He was with the army of Gasca in the war against Gonzalo Pizarro (ca. 1547–1550), and at a later date (ca. 1560) he was Corregidor of Cuzco. He was a lawyer attached to the train of Viceroy Toledo. Unlike his superior he seems not to have lacked sympathetic interest in the natives. His knowledge of their language, however, was slight, and it is likely that his statements are often doubtful as to accuracy, particularly those relating to human sacrifices which he declares to have been frequent. He died at Potosí about 1580.

There are no old editions of Polo de Ondegardo's work. For modern ones, see Bibliography. His two *Relaciones* were written in 1561 and 1570, both being based on material collected considerably before that. Dorsey (1892, page 168) states that the Mss. of these are in the Escurial. Markham (1910, page 7) says that there is a Report by the subject in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.

Oviedo y Valdes, Gonzalo Fernandez de: Born about 1478. He was at Panama at the time when Pizarro and Almagro were fitting out their first expedition southwards. Subsequently he became Chronicler of the Indies. Bartolomé de las Casas was a powerful enemy of his, and it is possible that his influence caused the suppression of the second part of Oviedo's great history, which exists only in a modern edition. He travelled somewhat in America, and, while in Spain, he had access to all sorts of information of an official character. He died in 1557. Old editions of his works are:

1526. Oviedo de la Natural Hystoria de las Indias. Toledo.

1535. La Historia General de las Indias. Seville.

Consult:

Lopez, de Gomara, Francisco:

1912. The Annals of the Emperor Charles V. Ed. by Roger Bigelow Merriman. Oxford. Pages 101 and 139–140.

Note.—The evidence of Lopez de Gomara shows that the second part of Oviedo's work would have come out about 1549 had it not been for las Casas' interference.

PIZARRO, Marquis Francisco: See BORDONE, Benedetto.

PIZARRO, Hernando: Born about 1505. He was the only legitimate brother of the Marquis Francisco Pizarro, Conqueror of Peru. He went to Peru in 1531. In 1533 he made an important excursion to Pachacamac upon which he reported in a letter, dated November of that year. He took an important part in the Conquest. On his return to Spain in 1539 he was imprisoned, and he remained so for twenty years. It is to be hoped that his cruelties were part-cause of his condemnation. In 1560 he married his niece, Francisca Pizarro Inca, natural daughter of Francisco Pizarro by his Inca mistress, daughter to the Inca Atahualpa. The date of his death is not known, exactly.

1533. Carta de Hernando Pizarro. In Oviedo y Valdes, Tercera Parte. (This is in Ms. only.) For modern editions, see Bibliography.

PIZARRO, Pedro: Born in 1515. Came to Peru as page to his cousin, Marquis Francisco

Pizarro, in 1531. Died, probably in Arequipa, sometime after 1571 and possibly as late as 1602. See Life, pages 79–83 of this volume.

The Relación of Pedro Pizarro, completed in 1571, is based upon his personal observations from 1531 to 1555. Only modern editions of it are known. (See Bibliography.)

In the catalog, Bibliotheca Phillipica, of the sale of a portion of the library of Sir Thomas Phillips, sold by Sotherby, Wilkinson and Hodge, in London, June, 1919, item No. 389, is a manuscript entitled, "Pizarro, Relacion del Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reynos del Peru, escrita por Pedro Pizarro, uno de los Conquistadores y Pobladores de aquellos Reynos, año de 1571, half calf; 292 pp. folio."

In the same catalog, item lot 264, a volume containing papers relating to "Las Indias" in the 16th and 17th centuries, is the following: "(9) Relacion Verdadera de la Tierra que Descubrimos con el Gobernador Franco Pizarro deste Reyno del Peru desde que llegamos a Panama, *original, signed by* Diego Truxillo, 1571."

Sancho, Pedro: Born about 1510. Nothing is now known about his life save that he was a gentleman and that he witnessed the

events of the Conquest from 1531 to July 15, 1534. He returned to Spain, having served as scrivener to Pizarro's army, in 1536. There he married a lady of high position.

1534. Relacion de la Conquista del Peru. (Not published.)

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

Consult the Biography by Carlos A. Romero, in that student's edition of the Relacion. (Lima, 1917.)

ZÁRATE, Agustín de: Born about 1520. He went to Peru with Blasco Nuñez Vela in 1543. He did not know the native languages, and his work is not of the first importance, although it contains some valuable descriptions of roads, sites and customs. He left Peru before 1554.

1555. Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú. Antwerp.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

XERES, Francisco de: Born about 1505. He went to Peru with Pizarro in 1531. He was with Hernando Pizarro during the latter's trip to Pachacamac in 1533, and he describes it. He returned to Spain in 1534.

1534. Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Peru. Seville.

1535. Libro Primo de la Conquista del Peru. Milan.

1547. Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Peru. Salamanca.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

Of the second chronological group, composed of men whose information was got between the years 1550 and 1600, the following are the most important.

Acosta, Joseph (or José) de: Born at Medina del Campo, Spain, about 1540. At the age of thirteen he became a novice in the Society of Jesus. In 1571 he went to Peru where, like a number of writers of this group, he was closely associated with the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. He remained in Peru for fifteen years, and he made a journey in Mexico and in the West Indies. His erudition was great, but he seems to have been deficient in the native languages. He used much manuscript material and, after his return to Spain, had the advantage of royal favour. He died in Spain about 1600.

1588–1589. De Natura Novi Orbis Libri Duo, et de Promulgatione Evangelii Apud Barbaros. . . Salamanca.

1590. Historia Natvral y Moral de las Indias. . . Seville.

NOTE.—This last-mentioned work is especially useful for a study of the religion of aboriginal Peru.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

FERNANDEZ DE PALENCIA, Diego: Born at Palencia, Spain, about 1530. He is often called "el Palentino". He was in the army which successfully opposed the rebellion of Hernandez Giron in 1554, and he was appointed historian to Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, Viceroy of Peru from 1556 to 1561. This was a time of much interest in Indian affairs on account of the efforts made by Hurtado de Mendoza to reduce Sayri Tupac, son of Manco Inca, to obedience.

1571. Primera y Segunda Parte de la Historia del Peru. Seville.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, el Ynca: Born at Cuzco in 1539 or 1540. His parents were

Princess Isabel Yupanqui, niece of Huayna Capac, and Don Garcia Lasso de la Vega de Vargas y Sotomayor Suarez de Figueroa. The young mestizo took as his name the first part of his father's, modifying it somewhat. On both sides his ancestry was exceedingly aristocratic. All during his childhood his mother's relatives came to visit her, and from them he absorbed much information about the past history of Peru. In 1560 he went to Spain, having received an excellent education at Cuzco. After a short military career, he took up a literary one and, making his home in Córdoba, he began his great Commentaries about 1590. He died in humble circumstances about 1617. He is a prime authority on ancient Peru, having received many sorts of information over a long stretch of years.

1609. Primera Parte de los Commentarios Reales. . . Lisbon.

1617. Historia del Peru (Segunda parte). Cordoba.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

HERRERA Y TORDESILLAS, Antonio de: Born in 1549. Philip II made him historian of the Indies. He did not travel in America, and he depended for his information upon sources available in Spain. He can not be said to be of the first importance so far as the history of the Andes is concerned. He died in 1625.

1601–1615. Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas I Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano. Madrid. 5 volumes.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

MATIENZO, Juan de: Nothing is known about this man save that he was a learned judge who was associated with Viceroy Toledo (1569–1581). He was a just man, and in his recommendations concerning governmental matters he faithfully bore in mind the good points of the native institutions. He is a prime authority for the earlier phases of colonial government.

1581(?). Gobierno del Peru. Ms. in the British Museum.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

Román y Zamora, Jerónimo: Born in Spain about 1539. He was an Augustinian monk. He never came to America so far as we know. Nevertheless, because he was well read and intelligent, he preserved many interesting points regarding the aboriginal peoples. But he can not be said to be an historian of the first importance. He died at Medina del Campo in 1597.

1575. Republicas del Mundo. Medina del Campo. 2 volumes.

1595. Republicas del Mundo. Salamanca. 3 volumes.

Note.—The earlier of these two editions is very rare. It was mutilated and censored by the Holy Inquisition. The second edition was corrected and expurgated by the Holy Inquisition. Probably the first is the better.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

Santillán, Fernando de: Born about 1520. In 1550 he became a Judge of the Royal Audience at Lima. He was a priest. Like Matienzo, he had a lively interest in Inca government, and he protested against Spanish governmental methods as much as he

dared. He throws much light upon the matter of tribute.

1555 (?). Relacion . . . del Gobierno de los Incas. Ms. in the Escorial.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro: Born about 1530. He was a navigator and a cosmographer of note. In 1567 he made an important trip to the South Sea Islands said to have been visited by the Inca Tupac Yupanqui. (Possibly, though hardly probably, these were the Galapagos or the Juan Fernandez Islands.) Later, Sarmiento was associated with the Viceroy Toledo, for whom he wrote his History of the Incas. Although this work contains much precious material, it is greatly marred, and, in some places, made valueless by the extremely violent partisanship of its writer who, at the behest of Toledo, did all that he could to blacken the character of the Incas. Sarmiento was captured by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1586 and taken to England.

1572. Segunda Parte de la Historia Llamada

Indica. Ms. in the library of Gottingen University. (Now known as History of the Incas.)
For modern editions, see Bibliography.

VALERA, Blas: Born about 1551. Like Garcilaso de la Vega, he was a mestizo, son of a Spanish gentleman and an Inca lady. He was born at Chachapoyas, and later on he lived at Trujillo. About 1571 he went to Cuzco as a catechist, having previously become a Jesuit. He lived there for some ten years, and then he moved to the important Jesuit house at Juli on the northern end of Lake Titicaca. He also visited such remote places as La Paz and Quito. His education was good, and he knew both Latin and Quechua in addition to Spanish. He always made it a point to glean all the information he could from informed Indians and other persons, and he has long been admitted to be the authority par excellence for pre-Conquest Andean history. His writings, however, have undergone misfortunes. In 1594 he went to Spain where his History of Peru, in Latin, became a most important source of informa-

tion to Garcilaso. The work was then lost during a siege of Cadiz by Essex. All that we have are the fragments preserved, always with due acknowledgments, by Garcilaso. His "De los Indios del Peru", however, is still extant, having been published in anonymity by Jimenez de la Espada and identified as Valera's by Gonzalez de la Rosa. A third work, the "Vocabulario histórico del Perú", was last heard of at La Paz where it was seen by a later writer, Oliva. It is substantially reproduced, however, by Fernando Montesinos. Most of our information as to pre-Inca Peru comes either from Valera or from his close follower (not to say plagiarizer) Montesinos. He is now and then borne out by other writers, notably by las Casas.

For a discussion of the whole complicated matter of Blas Valera, consult the various writings of Markham, Riva-Aguero, Gonzalez de la Rosa, Jimenez de la Espada, and P. A. Means.

See especially:

Riva-Aguero, José de la:

1910. La Historia en el Peru. Lima. Pages 11–218.

We must now take up the third and last group of the early writers on Andean history. The chief figures in it are these:

Acuña, Christóval de: Hardly anything is known of this man beyond the bare facts that he was the leader of an expedition down the Amazon about which valley he wrote. This trip took place about 1639, and it resulted in greatly increasing the limited fund of information about the river regions. The statement that Acuña was at one time Bishop of Caracas is not, probably, correct, for his name is not given in the list of Bishops of Caracas presented by Antonio de Alcedo. Acuña's work, however, is useful.

1641. Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Rio de las Amazonas. Madrid.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

The list of bishops referred to will be found in:

Alcedo, Antonio de:

1812–1815. The Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies. . . Ed. by G. A. Thompson. London. 5 volumes. I, pages 296–299.

Arriaga, Pablo Joseph (or José) de: This

writer was a Jesuit who was sent into the remote and solitary province of Huarochiri in the mountains east of Lima to extirpate the idolatry which still flourished there. In the execution of his duties he learned a vast amount of things relating to the primitive faith of the Yauyos, the people of that district. All that he learned is embodied in his book, which is one of the prime sources for information about religion and kindred matters in the Andes.

1621. Extirpacion de la Idolatria del Piru. Lima.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

AVENDAÑO, Fernando or Hernando de: A priest who, like Arriaga, made a study of the native religion. He knew Quechua and was in the habit of composing sermons in that language.

1617. Relacion Acerca de la Idolatria de los Indios del Arzobispado de Lima.

Ms. in Archivo de Indias, Seville.

1648. Sermones. . . En Lengua Castellana y General del Inca. Lima.

NOTE.—These works are of excessive rarity. A copy of the later one is in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, Rhode Island. There is no modern edition that I know of. The work is one which I have not seen personally.

AVILA, Francisco de: Another priest who sought to stamp out the vigourous vestiges of the old paganism and, so doing, described it fully. He worked in Huarochiri.

1646–1648. Tratado de los Evangelios . . . de los Indios Deste Reyno del Peru. . . Lima. 2 volumes.

For modern edition, see Bibliography.

COBO, Bernabé: Born in Spain in 1582. His father died in 1594 or 1596, and young Cobo came to America in the latter year. After extensive wanderings in Colombia and other northern parts of South America, he arrived in Lima in February, 1599. He soon entered the Jesuit College of San Martin, and in 1608 or thereabout he became a Jesuit himself. He remained in Lima till 1615. It is interesting to note that he was by no means brilliant at his studies. In 1615 he was sent to the Jesuit house at Juli, near Lake Titi-

caca. From 1616 to 1618 he was travelling widely in Upper Peru (now Bolivia). From 1618 to 1629 he was moving about in southern Peru, returning to Lima in the latter year. From about 1630 to about 1650 he was travelling in New Spain and elsewhere. From 1650 to 1653 he was living again at Lima. He died there on October 9, 1657. His extensive journeys, his real intelligence, his knowledge of the people, and his great information based upon earlier writings, both published and unpublished, make Cobo an authority of the very highest rank, even though he did flourish more than a century after the Conquest.

1639. Historia de la Fundacion de Lima. Mexico (?).

1653. Historia del Nuevo Mundo. Lima (?).

NOTE.—I have not seen copies of either of these early editions, nor do I know certainly as to the place of their issuance. The dates, however, are fairly correct. All the information given about Cobo here is derived from the preface to the modern edition of the Fundación de Lima, edited by Gonzalez de la Rosa.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

MONTESINOS, Fernando: This man came to Peru in 1629 in the same ship with Luis Jerónimo de Cabrera, Count of Chinchón and Viceroy of Peru, 1629–1639. Montesinos was probably secretary to the Viceroy. Although a man totally devoid of critical acumen, and although gullible and superstitious into the bargain, Montesinos yet availed himself most lavishly of earlier and more authoritative writings. Chief among his sources was Valera's Vocabulario, already referred to. There are no old editions of his works, and they remained in manuscript till modern times. In spite of faults, he is important.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

OLIVA, Anello: Born in Naples in 1593, brought to Peru in 1597. He died in Lima in 1642. Oliva, like las Casas, Valera, Montesinos and others, and especially like Cobo, gives much emphasis to pre-Inca times in the Andes. His information was largely derived from Valera, whom he mentions by name; from Catari, an Indian versed in the lore of the quipus; and other old sources. His work

is of value, though not of the first rank. He was a Jesuit.

1631. Vidas de Varones Ilustres. . . Lima. 2 volumes.

Ramos Gavilán, Alonso: Flourished in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Like his contemporary, Arriaga, Ramos is a first-rank authority for points regarding religion. He was an Augustinian. His activities seem to have centred about the southern end of Lake Titicaca.

1621. Historia del Célebre Santuario de Nuestra Senora de Copacabana. Lima.

Note.—This is the way Markham lists the title. Bandelier gives it a much longer form. Riva-Aguero, however, agrees with Markham. Personally, I have never succeeded in seeing a copy of the work. A bookseller in Paris was going to sell me it, but he sold it for a higher price to someone else whose identity I never discovered, and I never saw the volume.

For modern editions, see Bibliography.

Consult:

Bandelier, Adolph F.:

1910. The Islands of Titicaca and Koati. Hispanic Society. New York. Page 31.

Riva-Aguero, José de la:
1910. La Historia en el Peru. Lima. Page 255.

Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, Juan de: He was a contemporary of Ramos Gavilan and Arriaga. His father was a chieftain in the Collao, and he himself had a deep knowledge of folklore and linguistics. The value of his work is lessened, however, by his credulity and superstition. His so-called star-chart and other things in his work are of very doubtful antiquity.

1620. Relacion de Antiguedades deste Reino del Peru. Lima (?).

Note.—This edition is exceedingly rare. Not having seen it, I am not sure of the place of its publication.

Calancha, Antonio de la: Flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. He was born at Chuquisaca (now La Paz) in 1584. In 1598 he entered the Augustinian order at Chuquisaca, and soon after came to Lima to complete his education. He visited Trujillo, Arequipa and other places in performance of

his ecclesiastical duties. His attention was much directed, as was that of Arriaga, to the question of extirpating idolatry. He was a strict disciplinarian. In the words of Riva-Aguero (which I translate): "An unwearying collector of . . . documents, and a man who represented the vast but undigested learning of the monastery, he gathered a huge number of data". But his literary style was atrocious, and his habit of jumbling all sorts of things together was a great impediment to his book. Yet there is a great deal of invaluable material buried in his obscurely written pages. He was one of the first great historians to have been affected by that strange literary disease known as culteranismo or gongorismo. Like Arriaga, he is a first-rank source of information concerning religion and folklore. He died in 1654.

1638. Coronica Moralizada del Orden de San Avgvstin en el Perv, con Svcesos Egenplares en esta Monarquia. Barcelona.

A continuation of this work was:

CORDOBA, Diego de:

1653. Coronica Moralizada. . . Lima.

The two volumes were also issued as one work at Barcelona, Volume I being dated 1639 and being a reproduction of the 1638 edition.

NOTE.—There are no modern editions of this work.

CÁRDENAS, Bernardino de: Born at Chuquisaca (now Sucre) about 1605. He became a Franciscan, and in 1643 was made Bishop of Asunción. While occupying that see he had a protracted quarrel with the Jesuits. His work brought him into close touch with the Indians of his diocese, and he learned much about their folklore and rites. In 1666 he became Bishop of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and he died there in 1668. His work is valuable, but not first-rank.

1634. Relacion de las Cosas del Peru. Madrid.

NOTE.—Markham gives this work thus:

1634. Memorial y Relacion Verdadera para el Rei N. S. y su Real Concejo de las Indias, de Cosas del Reino del Peru, mui Importantes a Su Real Servicio, y Conciencia. Madrid.

CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGY OF THE CONQUEST PERIOD IN THE ANDEAN REGION

NOTE.—One of the shortcomings of Pedro Pizarro's work is its total lack of dates. For that reason the present edition is now provided with the following chronological material which the reader may consult if he so desires. It is based on a wide range of the best available data.

1513: B. Nuñez de Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean.

1514: APRIL 12; Pedro Arias de Avila and his wife Isabel de Bobadilla sail from San Lucar de Barrameda on their way to Panama.
JULY 20; They arrive at Panama. Pascual de Andagoya is of their party.

1515 to 1521, inclusive: Nothing of importance for us.

1522: The Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya makes a voyage southward under the patronage of Governor Arias. He gets as far as the southern part of what is now Colombia and makes journeys of exploration there. He hears definitely of the Inca empire. Ill health obliges him to turn northward.

1523: Andagoya returns to Panama and makes his report.

1524: Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro and Fernando de Luque form a partnership, and Pizarro makes his first trip southward, going somewhat further than Andagoya had gone. Though he and his men suffer untold privations, they hear still more definitely of the Inca empire and its tempting wealth.

1525: Pizarro returns from his first trip. News of his voyage reaches Spain.

1526: MARCH 10; Pizarro, Almagro and Luque sign at Panama their famous contract for the conquest of Peru. They secure the permission of Arias de Avila.
NOVEMBER; Pizarro, accompanied by the pilot Bartolomé Ruiz, sets out on his second voyage southward. Almagro follows him before long.

1527: The explorers encounter many hardships. Ruiz crosses the Equator; the incident of the balsa brings him into personal touch with subjects of the Inca. Pizarro and his men take refuge from hostile Indians and other dangers on the Island of Gallo. Almagro starts northward in search of new supplies and reënforcements. He unconsciously bears the complaints of the discontented elements among Pizarro's

men. He finds that Pedro de los Rios is now governor of Panama. On receiving the complaints, Rios sends Pedro Alonso de Tafur, a judge, to Gallo in order to bring the men back to Panama. The incident of the thirteen (or sixteen) faithful men. All save them desert Pizarro and return to Panama. After much difficulty with Governor Rios, Almagro succeeds in sending a small vessel with supplies to Gallo. Leaving some of his few followers behind on the island of Gorgona, Pizarro goes southward in this ship and stops at Tumbez where Alonso de Molina and Pedro de Candia go ashore. He then goes down the coast as far as Santa, examining the country as he goes.

1528: After exploring the coast as far as Santa, Pizarro returns to Panama and reports what he has seen to Almagro and Luque. In the Spring of the year he leaves for Spain to secure royal favour.

1529: Pizarro finds the Court at Toledo. The Emperor Charles V hears his report in person. The Emperor is obliged to leave Spain, however, and leaves the matter in the charge of Juana, the regent.

JULY 24 or 26; Agreement or Capitulation for the conquest of Peru signed by Juana and Pizarro. Honours and benefices are bestowed upon Pizarro's followers and colleagues.

1530: JANUARY 19; Pizarro sails from San Lucar. With him are his brothers Hernando Pizarro, Gonzalo Pizarro, Juan Pizarro and Francisco Martin de Alcántara, likewise his cousin Pedro Pizarro.

On arriving at Panama Marquis Francisco Pizarro (as he now is) has a quarrel with Almagro who is dissatisfied with the honours which Pizarro has secured for him at Court. Toward the end of the year the opportune arrival of Hernando Ponce de Leon and Hernando de Soto, with two ships from Nicaragua, heals the breach.

NOVEMBER and DECEMBER; Pizarro and these two men, with their followers, go down the coast as far as Coaque. Thence they send the ships back to Panama for more men. They go southward by land.

DECEMBER 25; They have a sharp fight with the people of the Island of Puna.

1531: JANUARY; Pizarro and his men, much aided by their firearms and horses and armour, capture Tumbez.

The remainder of the year taken up with explorations.

1532: JANUARY to MARCH; Bartolomé de las Casas said to have visited Peru.

MAY 24; San Miguel de Tangarará founded.

SEPTEMBER 24; Leaving Sebastián de

Benalcázar in command at San Miguel, the Marquis sets forth on a trip southward.

SEPTEMBER 27; He reaches the Piura valley.

OCTOBER 7; He passes Pabor or Pabur, in the upper Piura valley.

OCTOBER 8; He reaches Zarran.

OCTOBER 9 to NOVEMBER 4; Explorations by the Marquis (Sechura desert) and Soto (Caxas and Huancabamba).

NOVEMBER 4 to 14; Travelling toward Cajamarca.

NOVEMBER 15; Hernando Pizarro and Soto have an interview with Atahualpa near Cajamarca.

NOVEMBER 16; The capture of Atahualpa.

NOVEMBER 18; Atahualpa offers ransom. He is held prisoner.

DECEMBER 20; Ransom begins to arrive at Cajamarca, in charge of a brother of Atahualpa.

1533: FEBRUARY; Almagro arrives on the coast, having come from Panama.

FEBRUARY 5; Three ordinary soldiers sent from Cajamarca to spy out the country as far as Cuzco.

JANUARY 5 to APRIL 25; Hernando Pizarro makes a long trip from Cajamarca to

Pachacamac and Jauja and back to Cajamarca.
MAY 3; The ransom of Atahualpa is all assembled.
AUGUST 29; Atahualpa executed, on unjust grounds.
SEPTEMBER; The Marquis begins his march toward Cuzco.
NOVEMBER 15; The entry of the Spaniards into Cuzco. Manco Inca.
DECEMBER; Hernando Pizarro at Panama, en route for Spain.

1534: JANUARY; The Spaniards in the Titicaca region.
MARCH; Pedro de Alvarado arrives at the Quito coast from Nicaragua. With about 500 men he marches to conquer Quito, but is forestalled by Sebastián de Benalcázar. Almagro follows the latter northward. They all meet and go to Pachacamac. After a long negotiation Alvarado accepts 100,000 pesos de oro and gives up his claims, returning to Guatimala in DECEMBER.
DECEMBER; Trujillo founded.

1535: JANUARY 1; Marquis Pizarro and Almagro at Pachacamac.
JANUARY 18; Lima founded by Marquis Francisco Pizarro.

JUNE 12; Agreement as to territories signed by Pizarro and Almagro.

JULY 3; Almagro, accompanied by Villac Umu, Paullu, Saavedra, Orgoñez and Rada, leaves for Chile with a goodly force.

1536: FEBRUARY to DECEMBER; Siege of Cuzco by Manco Inca, who finally withdraws to Vitcos.

1537: MARCH; Almagro returns from Chile.

APRIL 8 or 18; Almagro seizes Cuzco.

MAY 31; Fray Tomás de Berlanga, Bishop of Panama, appointed to settle boundary disputes between Pizarro and Almagro.

JULY 12; Almagro and Orgoñez defeat Alonso de Alvarado at Abancay.

JULY 25; Almagro imprisons Hernando Pizarro and others at Cuzco.

NOVEMBER 13; Marquis Pizarro and Almagro meet near Chincha. They quarrel bitterly.

1538: JANUARY 1; Almagro in retreat at Huaytara.

FEBRUARY 10; A. Enriquez de Guzman is made Captain-general of Cuzco.

APRIL 26; Hernando Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro defeat Rodrigo Orgoñez at the battle of las Salinas.

JULY 8; Diego de Almagro, the Elder, put to death at Cuzco.

1539: OCTOBER (?); Hernando Pizarro leaves for Spain. Gonzalo Pizarro enters the forests of the Amazon valley.

1540: JANUARY; Marquis Pizarro in Upper Peru.
MARCH; Pedro de Valdivia leaves for Chile.
AUGUST 15; Arequipa founded by Pizarro and Garci Manuel de Carvajal.

1541: FEBRUARY 24; Cristóbal Vaca de Castro arrives at Panama.
MARCH 19; He sails for Peru and later leaves his ship on the Quito coast or at Buenaventura (Colombia).
JUNE 26; Marquis Francisco Pizarro assassinated.
JULY 14; Diego de Almagro the lad writes to the Audience of Panama asking for their favour.
NOVEMBER 15; Vaca de Castro is at Quito.

1542: JANUARY; Vaca de Castro leaves Quito.
JUNE; Gonzalo Pizarro returns from the Amazon valley.
SEPTEMBER 16; Vaca de Castro, with the aid of Carbajal, defeats Almagro the lad at the battle of Chupas. Almagro the lad killed.
NOVEMBER 20; The New Laws signed at Barcelona by Charles V.
NOVEMBER 24; Vaca de Castro in Cuzco.

1543: JANUARY to MAY; Vaca de Castro at Cuzco institutes governmental reforms.
NOVEMBER; Blasco Nuñez Vela leaves Spain with New Laws.

1544: MARCH 4; B. Nuñez Vela arrives at Tumbez.
MAY 15; He takes over the viceregal post at Lima.
SEPTEMBER 13; He kills Guillen Xuarez de Carbajal.
SEPTEMBER 18; He is deposed by the Audience and shipped north.
OCTOBER 28; Gonzalo Pizarro enters Lima in triumph.
OCTOBER; B. Nuñez Vela lands at Tumbez.

1545: MAY (?); Rebellion of Centeno against Gonzalo Pizarro.
JULY (?); News of bad reception of New Laws reaches the Court.
NOVEMBER 20; The New Laws revoked.
NOVEMBER (?); Death of Manco Inca at Vitcos.

1546: JANUARY 18; Blasco Nuñez Vela killed at the battle of Añaquito, the battle being won by Gonzalo Pizarro and Sebastián de Benalcázar.
FEBRUARY 26; Pedro de la Gasca is given powers equal to royal by Emperor Charles V, at Venlo, Flanders.

MAY 24 or 27; Gasca leaves San Lucar.
JULY 17; He reaches Nombre de Dios.
JULY; Gonzalo Pizarro begins to move southward from Quito toward Lima.
AUGUST 11; Gasca reaches Panama. He finds Hinojosa there with fleet of Gonzalo Pizarro.
AUGUST 13; Gasca meets Hinojosa at Panama.
NOVEMBER 15; Lorenzo de Aldana arrives at Panama.
NOVEMBER 19; Hinojosa and Aldana hand over Gonzalo Pizarro's fleet to Gasca.

1547: JANUARY 9; Bishop Jerónimo de Loayza joins Gasca at Panama.
JANUARY; Gonzalo Pizarro entertains hopes of becoming king.
FEBRUARY 17; L. de Aldana sails from Panama with the fleet.
MARCH; Plans for coronation of Pizarro being carried forward.
APRIL and MAY; Plans for coronation being hastened.
APRIL 10; Gasca leaves Panama.
JUNE 23; Gasca reaches Manta.
JULY 1; He reaches Tumbez.
AUGUST 4; Still at Tumbez.
OCTOBER 21; Battle of Huarina won by Gonzalo Pizarro against Diego Centeno.

DECEMBER 30; Gasca at Jauja.

1548: APRIL 9; Battle of Xaquixaguana. Death of Gonzalo Pizarro, and of Carbajal.
APRIL 12; Gasca enters Cuzco in triumph.
APRIL 18; Still in Cuzco.

1549: FEBRUARY to DECEMBER; Gasca at Lima.

1550: JANUARY 27; Gasca sails for Panama, leaving the government in the hands of the Judges of the Royal Audience.

1551: The University of San Marcos is founded.
NOVEMBER 12; Antonio de Mendoza arrives in Lima as Viceroy.

1552: JULY 21; Mendoza dies. The Audience controls the government.

1553: NOVEMBER 12; Francisco Hernández Girón arises in revolt.

1554: JANUARY 4; Girón goes to Lima.
JANUARY 27; He is joined at Guamanga by Tomás Vasquez.
MARCH 30; Alonso de Alvarado goes to Cuzco.
MAY 8; Girón goes up from Nasca to Chuquinga.
MAY 21; After battle of Chuquinga he enters Cuzco in triumph.
SEPTEMBER 22; He retreats south to Pucará and is defeated there.

RELATION

Of the discovery and conquest of the kingdoms of Peru, and of the government and arrangements which the natives of them formerly had, and of the treasures which were found therein, and of the other events which have taken place in those realms up to the day on which the Relation was signed. Done by Pedro Pizarro, a conqueror and settler of those said kingdoms, and a citizen of the city of Arequipa, in the year 1571.

To the Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty of the King Don Felipe our Lord, Pedro Pizarro, his meanest vassal.

Many, O most catholic and most clement Prince, are those who have written about the affairs of these your kingdoms of Peru, as well those which touch upon the conquest as those which occurred after the realms were settled by your vassals, but, as the writers do not write of what they saw, treating only of what they have heard, they can not give a clear and truthful account of what they describe, and so I, the least of your vassals, agreed to bring out into the light all that which, up to now, has remained in the dark and in the shadows, for I am a person who has been in these provinces from the beginning of the conquest until its termination, and I have had a part in all the several events which took place after the conquest. And, although lowly and petty matters are unworthy to be offered to great and exalted Princes like Your Majesty, still I made so bold as to dedicate and direct the present trifling work to you so that,

through your favour and protection, it may be made great. As it concerns itself with kingdoms and lordships of Your Majesty, so remote from your Royal presence, I rest my hope upon the Creator of them and of all things that it will give pleasure to Your Majesty and also that it may be a cause for giving praise to our Lord to whom may many thanks be given for the marvels which he wrought upon his faithful during the time the conquest of these kingdoms lasted, and even afterwards. May the Lord permit Your Majesty to enjoy long years of life, and afterwards give you years which shall have no end.

The Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of Peru Begins

In tierra firme, in the city of Panama, there were three companions who were conquerors and settlers in that land. They were Don Francisco Pizarro, Don Diego de Almagro, and Father Luque. They were associates in some estates and allotments of Indians which had been granted to them. Of these men the most

important was Don Francisco Pizarro whom, as such, the governors of tierra firme made a captain in the conquest of that land. Don Diego de Almagro was a very good soldier, and so excellent a woodsman that he could follow an Indian through even the thickest forests merely by tracing his tracks and, although the Indian might have a league's advantage of him, yet would Almagro catch up with him. Father Luque was a citizen of Panama at that time, and they were the richest men then in the place.[35] Just then the people of tierra firme had news of a province which is called Peru, some two hundred leagues from tierra firme, but up the coast from the land which is now called Peru, for they gave to this land of Peru the name of that province which is near Baruacoas on the side toward Panama.[36] And they could not conquer that province of Peru as it is in a very mountainous country and has very bellicose people who put poisonous herbs on their arrows. They are people who keep watch by night and sound the quarter hours upon

drums. And the province is small and on bad soil. So these three companions agreed to set forth to conquer this said province. Then, on discussing the matter with Pedro Arias de Avila, who at that time was governor of tierra firme, they brought him into contract with them under such conditions that Pedro Arias was not to be obliged then to contribute any money or anything else, but that his share of the expenses was to be paid out of his share of whatever might be found in the land. The three companions perforce agreed to these terms as a means of getting the necessary licence, for otherwise they would not have got it. Then having received the licence, they made Don Francisco Pizárro Captain-general, and Don Diego de Almagro they made second leader. They then embarked, and proceeded on their journey down the coast until they arrived at the said province of Peru, where they could not do anything for the reasons already told, and so they went on down the coast where they suffered many trials and many of the men died, for it was a land of mangrove

swamps with but few Indians, some of whom came in canoes built upon logs, and in this land two years were spent, and they suffered excessive hardships, and more than three hundred men died of hunger and disease. Then, at the end of this time, they took port at the island of Gallo and at that of Borgona [*sic*], so shattered and so greatly enfeebled that they were unable to proceed further. They agreed to send Don Diego de Almagro to Panama in a ship which they had, for Pedro de los Rios, who had come to inspect the acts of Pedro Arias de Avila and to be governor of tierra firme, had sent for them to return. And when this was decided upon, it was agreed that Don Francisco Pizarro should remain on Borgona [*sic*] lest, if all should return, there should be none to return to the work begun. Then, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro remaining on the said island with twelve men, one of them wrote a letter which he placed in a ball of cotton destined for the governor Pedro de los Rios. In the letter he said: "Very magnificent Sir: Know this to be the truth entire,

that yonder goes the gleaner, and here remains the butcher." [37] When Almagro arrived at Panama with the men who wished to go with him, the letter was seen by the governor Pedro de los Rios who did not wish to grant leave for any people to return to the place where Don Francisco Pizarro was, and, seeing this, Don Diego de Almagro and his companion Father Luque made many requisitions upon the governor, protesting that the lives of those who had remained on the island must be saved. For this reason the governor finally gave them leave to send men to Don Francisco Pizarro under the condition that, if no land suitable for settlement should be found, they would return within four months of the time at which they arrived at the place where Don Francisco Pizarro was.[38] Then, this licence having been obtained, Don Diego de Almagro prepared the ship and provided supplies, and with some Spaniards despatched it under the command of Bartolomé Perez [i. e., Ruiz], a pilot who had gone out on the voyage of conquest and dis-

covery to los Manglares.[39] When he arrived at the island of Borgona [*sic*] he found the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro with the companions who had remained with him, and there was much joy on the part of those who were on the island, for they were on the point of perishing with hunger, and they had determined to entrust themselves to a vessel in order to go to Panama, for it was now five months that they had been suffering there, among great perils from the Indians who had given them many battles, and on the day on which they were to set out, the ship arrived, and they all went aboard of it, and they went on down the coast in order to discover what there was beyond. And thereby was our Lord served, for they came upon good land, for they encountered the province of Puerto Viejo, and from there they went to the port of Tumbez, and they passed a little further down the coast where they got news of this land, although not of all that was later found and discovered. They saw some ewes which the people gave them, and aboard some balsas

which they overtook upon the sea there were girdles of mother-of-pearl, of gold and of silver, as well as some of the clothes which they wear in that country, all of which they kept in order to take it to Spain to show to His Majesty. And likewise there were three or four boys, Indians of the land, whom they captured aboard the balsas, as well as some others whom the Indians gave them to eat, thinking that the Spaniards were eaters of human flesh.[40] And, having given many thanks to God for having vouchsafed them so many mercies, and for having shown them a land so rich and so well peopled, they determined to return to tierra firme in order to go and give the tidings to His Majesty of all that they had discovered. And, taking with them the specimens of the things they had found, they set forth, and they left behind a Spaniard named Morillo who had fled inland, and another, named Bocanegra, remained behind with permission to do so. The greatest town which they found at that time was Tumbez, and this they stated to be the chief town of

the country in the report and relation which they brought back and made public. All this having been arranged, they returned to Panama where they found Pedro de los Rios established as governor, because Pedro Arias Dávila, who was governor before, had gone to Nicaragua, a province which had just been discovered. And in this Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro had good fortune, for if Pedro Arias had been there he would have taken the enterprise away from them, and would have taken it for himself. When the said companions were arrived, then, they agreed between themselves and Father Luque that Don Francisco Pizarro should go to Spain to seek the governorship for himself and Don Diego de Almagro, and, for Father Luque, a bishopric. And all being arranged, the said Don Francisco Pizarro set out, carrying with him the specimens which they had brought from that land, and two Indians of those whom, as I have said, were given them to eat. Up to this point I tell what I have heard. Henceforth I shall tell what I have seen.[41]

Having set forth on his journey, he was by the grace of our Lord borne safely to Spain where he soon went to kiss the feet of His Majesty the Emperor our Lord, who is now in glory, and who was then in the city of Toledo, and when he [Pizarro] had given him [the Emperor] an account of what had been discovered, His Majesty sent him to his Council of the Indies whose president at that time was the Conde de Osorno, and Don Francisco made his plea in conformity with the agreement he had come to with his already mentioned companions. In the Council they told him that it was not fitting that governorship be given to two companions, because in Santa Marta it had been done, and one governor had killed the other. Would that it had pleased God our Lord that they had held to this decision always, for later on governorship was given to Don Diego de Almagro, and one of them killed the other, and all the battles and wars which have taken place in this kingdom have grown out of the event. Don Francisco Pizarro, having many times be-

sought them to grant the governorship to both companions, as I say, was advised to ask for the governorship for himself only without its being granted to any other person. Perceiving that there was no likelihood of his receiving what he asked for and desired, he did ask that the grant be made to him, and thus it was done. And having entered into an agreement with the Sovereign as to what things were to be done, he went to the city of Seville where he embarked in two ships and a small vessel so as to carry with him the troops he was ordered to take, who were to number three hundred. After equipping the ships, he embarked with some troops, but not with the full complement he was supposed to take with him.[42] While he was thus in the port of San Lucar waiting for a favourable time to sail, Don Francisco Pizarro was warned that officials were coming to review the troops he was taking, and that if the full complement were found not to be present, they would prevent his journey. When Don Francisco Pizarro learned this he embarked on the small vessel

already mentioned; he forthwith sailed out past the bar of San Lucar and went to wait for us at the island of Gomera. When those who had come to hold the review arrived, they saw that Don Francisco Pizarro was gone, and they took possession of his two ships, but they were made to understand that the number of men which was lacking was aboard the small vessel. And in a few days, under good weather conditions, we sailed out past the bar of San Lucar in the said two ships under Hernando Pizarro, his brother, whom he had left as captain of them. And our Lord being pleased to vouchsafe us good weather, we arrived at the island of Gomera, where we found Don Francisco Pizarro, and thence all together we set forth in good weather and went to take port at Santa Marta, where Pedro de Lerma was governor, and the people there enticed away some of our men, spreading abroad a rumour that the land to which we were going was a bad land with nothing to eat but serpents and lizards and dogs, which news caused a good deal of fear among the men who came

with us. And so some of them fled from us and remained in that place. And from there we went to the port of Nombre de Dios where Don Diego de Almagro, on learning of the arrival of his companion Don Francisco Pizarro, came to meet him. And when he understood that he did not bring powers of government for both of them and that His Majesty had not wished to give it to both of them, but to one only, Don Diego de Almagro rebelled, and he took himself off with the money and wealth he had collected, and he did not wish to aid Don Francisco Pizarro to prepare his fleet and pass on to, for he said that since he [Pizarro] had not arranged all that had been agreed upon, that money and wealth was his own, for Don Francisco Pizarro had spent his share and much more besides on his trip to Spain, and Father Luque did likewise, because he [Pizarro] had not brought him the bishopric agreed upon, for His Majesty did not wish to grant it until he had informed himself as to what sort of a man he [Luque] was. And on account of all this

much hardship was experienced, and some of the troops who had come out with the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro died. And as it was not possible, the journey was not made. And sometimes, through the mediation of third parties, Pizarro and Almagro came into agreement, and on one of these occasions when they were in agreement, Hernando Pizarro being ill, Almagro went to visit him, and they discussed between themselves the preparations for their journey. Hernando Pizarro told him that he was much afflicted because he could not give horses to two squires whom he had brought with him so that they might come to him, and Almagro told him not to feel badly about it for he himself would give to Juan Cortes and to Toro, thus were the squires called, a horse for each one, and he gave his word that he do it, which word he never kept, and for this reason Hernando Pizarro used evil language to Don Diego de Almagro, calling him a roistering scoundrel and other offensive things. I have wished to relate all this in order that the origin

of all the passion and rancour between Pizarro and Almagro may be understood, from which have resulted in this land so many battles, and the deaths of so many men, and so many mishaps, and the misfortunes because of which neither Pizarro nor Almagro has a clod of earth in this land, both having died the unfortunate deaths which overtook them. Then, things being in this situation, it befell that Hernando Ponce de León came from Nicaragua with two ships laden with slaves whom he meant to sell in Panama, they belonging to him and to his companion Hernando de Soto.[43] Seeing the arrival of this Hernan Ponce, Hernando Pizarro tried to induce him to give him the two ships which he had brought in order that he [Hernando Pizarro] might carry troops to this land, for the thing they needed most for the journey was ships. Hernan Ponce came to an agreement with them, getting many advantages out of the bargain, and his companion, Soto, whom Hernando Pizarro and his brother Don Francisco Pizarro placed in command of the

ships and was made captain and lieutenant governor of the chief town which should be founded if the land proved to be rich, and to the said Hernan Ponce was to be given one of the best repartimientos which were in the kingdom. All this the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and his brother granted and carried out. Don Diego de Almagro, seeing how this agreement had been made, and how because of it the journey could be accomplished, agreed to make friends with Don Francisco Pizarro and Hernando Pizarro his brother, which was done, although with reservations and evil designs, as always thereafter appeared.

All that I have said having been arranged, Don Francisco Pizarro, with the troops who had come from Spain and with some who had joined him in tierra firme, in all some two hundred men, embarked and proceeded on his journey, taking port at the bay of San Mateo where he set some men ashore, after which the ships went on down the coast, visiting a village called Coaque, and our Lord was well

served by their touching there, for, on account of what was found there, the land gained in renown, and men came to it, as will be told further on.[44] Then, having arrived at this village of Coaque, they attacked it suddenly without warning to its people, for had it been otherwise they would not have captured the quantity of gold and emeralds which they did capture there.[45] As soon as the village was taken, its inhabitants fled, and they could not have been very many for this village is near to great forests, and they left all their possessions behind them. The Spaniards collected them and assembled all the gold and silver in one place, for it was forbidden on pain of death to do anything else, because all had to bring whatever they found to one pile so that the governor might there distribute it, giving to each man a quantity in conformity to his merits and services, and this arrangement was preserved throughout the conquest of this land, and he who was found to have gold or silver hidden away died for it, and on this account no one, so far as is known, dared

to hide them. About the emeralds there was a shameful mistake on the part of certain persons who did not know their value. But some others knew what they were and kept them. But in the end there were many emeralds of great value. Some of the men tried them on anvils, giving them blows with a hammer, saying that if they were emeralds they would not break. Others scorned the stones, saying they were glass. He who knew what they were kept them and held his tongue, as they say was done by a Frai Reginaldo who found some [emeralds] at Panama while he was going to Spain, he being a Dominican who died, one of the three whom the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro had out from Spain, and the chief of them. [He could do this] because these [stones] did not have to go into the pile which was made, as they were something which was not then understood, although later it became known what they were. Much finery of gold and silver was found, many crowns made of gold after the fashion of imperial crowns, and many other pieces

the value of which mounted to more than two hundred thousand castellanos. From the place where this village of Coaque was down to Caxamalca they did not find two thousand pesos of gold and silver all told, on account of which the troops were much dismayed, and they were very discontented. Having got this treasure, Don Francisco Pizarro sent one of the ships of Hernan Ponce de Leon to Nicaragua under Garcia de Aguilar with some of these gold crowns and other pieces in order that, on seeing them, troops might be encouraged to come to these parts. As soon as the wealth which the ship brought was seen, Hernando de Soto, already mentioned, armed his Indians, and assembled as many as one hundred [Spanish] men, who at that time had neither captains nor governors nor pay from anyone, but each one for himself got on without aid from anyone, and they even paid freight charges to the owners of the ships. In this Coaque they found many mattresses of wool from the ceyua, which is a tree they grow there and thus name.[46] And it befell

then that some Spaniards who threw themselves down upon the mattresses got up crippled, for if the arm or the leg was doubled up during sleep it could not be straightened out again except with very great difficulty. This was the lot of some people, and it was understood to be the origin of a disease called berrugas, a disease so bad and tormenting that it caused many men to be wearied and worn by pain just as if they had tumours, and even great sores came out all over the body, and some were as big as eggs, and they corrupted the skin, and much pus and blood ran out of them so that it was necessary to cut them out and to throw strong things [herbs?] into the wound to kill the root. There were other sores as small as measles, because of which the whole body swelled up. Few were those who escaped having them, though they attacked some men more than they did others. Some wished to claim that the cause of this infirmity was some fish which they ate in the provinces of Puerto Viejo, and which the Indians maliciously gave to the Spaniards.[47]

While, as I say, they were thus in this village of Coaque, preparing to pass onward, Benalcazar arrived[48] with about thirty men in a small vessel. This gave great joy to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and to those who were with him, and they received them with much joy, and so they made great haste and began to journey overland from Puerto Viejo onward, and so, by their forced marches, they went on until they received news of the island of Puna, and going aboard the ships they entered it, and the cacique of it came out in peace and gave a good reception to the Spaniards, and he stayed in this frame of mind some days, at the end of which he permitted [his people] to rise up and slay the Spaniards, and he used a stratagem, for he was wont to come with great noise to visit the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro.[49] This noise was declared to be [their notion of] dancing, and so they made it while they came with their arms, and finally the truth came out, and there was a battle with the Spaniards in which some soldiers were wounded,

among them Hernando Pizarro, who was wounded in the leg. They made prisoner the cacique of the island and some of his chief men: he was called Tumala, and all were kept prisoners for several days. When the Indians of Tumbez received this news, they came feigning pacific intentions [toward the Spaniards] in order to avenge themselves upon them of the island of Puna, because there had been great wars between them, and they of Puna had destroyed Tumbez by fire. And, as I say, in order to avenge themselves, they came in peace and besought the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro to yield up to them the cacique and his chiefs in order that they might slay them, for which they [of Tumbez] would give their friendship to the Christians. And the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro in order to win their friendship, and because they had come thither in peace, gave up to them some of the chiefs, whom they killed in the presence of the Spaniards by means of beheading. The chief cacique he [Pizarro] did not wish to give up to them, and after-

wards he was set free when we left that place. In this island were found five ewes of the country so fat that they could not multiply, but when they were killed not so much as two *arreldes* of good meat were found on them.[50] Also there was in this island an Inga, one of those of Cuzco, who governed Puerto Viejo and the island [of Puna] and Tumbez for the Inga [the Sovereign], and as soon as the Spaniards arrived he disappeared and went away without informing himself of anything. Here in this island were found three Indian women who had been servants of the two Spaniards named Morillo and Bocanegra[51] who, as I said, remained in that land when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro discovered it and went to Spain to ask for the governorship of it. Among the clothes of these women was found a small piece of paper with writing in which said Bocanegra: Know you who may come to this land that there is more gold in it than there is iron in Vizcaya. When this paper was read most of the soldiers believed it, and it was purposely read in public

by the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, for the men were very discontented on account of not having found another Coaque. The people of this island [of Puna] and those of Puerto Viejo and Tumbez, wear raiment, consisting of very fine silky fibres, on their heads. The chiefs and rich Indians wear girdles woven with mother-of-pearl, gold and silver four fingers in width, and narrower over the hips than in that part which lies over the body. Above this they wear a garment which conceals the person. Some of the women wear the same costume, though they are covered down to the wrist and on the legs almost to the ankle. These people have maize, beans, fish, and other vegetables, to eat. Save for those ewes I have mentioned, they have none north of Tumbez. The people of the island and those of Tumbez were very bellicose in war, and they wore their hair cut short a little below the ear. For arms they had long arrows, spears and clubs. The folk of Puerto Viejo were very dirty and were given over to the abominable crime.[52] They worshipped

stones and wooden idols and, by order of the Inga, the sun. Then, being in this situation which I describe, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro saw himself on the said island with many of his men sick with berrugas, [and he was waiting for] the coming of more troops so that they might set out thence, for, on account of the many bad people round about, they had not set out. [Just then] Hernando de Soto arrived from Nicaragua with the above-mentioned troops in two ships, on account of which the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro and those who were with him received much pleasure and contentment, although those who had come [did not feel the same way], because as they had left the Paradise of Mahoma which Nicaragua was and had found an island in revolt and lacking in food and the greater part of the troops sick and neither gold nor silver such as had been found in the lands behind them, some and all wished to return whence they had come, and the captain for very shame did not prevent it, nor did the soldiers, not being able to do so.

Then, while all were preparing to pass onward to Tumbez, it befell that His Majesty's treasurer, Riquelme, seeing how poor and sickly was the land as far as that point, and for other reasons which he pretended to have moved him, made up his mind to flee from the land, and so he secretly agreed with the master of a small ship, and one night he embarked clandestinely and went away. When his going was learned of by the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, he went aboard one of the two ships which were in the port, went in pursuit of him, caught up with him and brought him back. And in a few days more he ordered the men to make ready, and, the horses [cavalry?] having been put aboard the ships, the rest of the men embarked on some balsas which were then with us, and which belonged to the people of Tumbez who offered to carry some Spaniards and baggage upon them. Their purpose was treason as later appeared, for after we had left the island the balsas carrying some troops and other things, as I have said, put ashore on some small

islands which they [the Indians] knew. They made the Spaniards go ashore there to sleep, and when they believed them to be asleep, they went away, taking the balsas with them, and later they returned with more [Indian] troops and killed those [Spaniards] whom they had left there. What befell to three Spaniards whom they killed was in this wise; and the same thing would have happened to Francisco Martin, brother of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and to Alonso de Mesa, a citizen of Cuzco, and to me, if it had not been for the fact that Alonso de Mesa was very sick with the berrugas and so did not wish to get off the balsa and [sleep] on the islet where they had cast us ashore and where Francisco Martin and I got off, keeping very close to the shore in such a way that not more than seventy paces lay between us and the water. While we were thus sleeping, at midnight the Indians pulled up the stone tied with a rope which they throw into the sea to serve as an anchor. Believing that Mesa was sleeping, they intended to go away, leaving us there

and killing Mesa later. And, as I have said, the berrugas gave Mesa great pain, and he was awake, and, when he saw what the Indians were doing, he gave great shouts which awakened Francisco Martin and me, and when we understood the evil they [the Indians] planned, we bound the chief and the two other Indians, and so we were on the watch all night. And the next day we set out thence and arrived at the coast of Tumbez, and the Indians, now that we were in the surf, threw themselves into the water and dragged us into the waves which cast us up upon the shore very wet and half drowned, and the Indians, seeing that we were now on shore, pushed the balsa off into the waves, then they took it and went off with it, carrying with them everything which we were bringing with us. At last they left us with only what we wore upon our backs, and so they robbed many who had put their belongings upon the balsas believing that the Indians would carry them safely; among [those who did so] were captain Soto and others. Then,

when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro had arrived at the port of Tumbez with the ships and had sent soldiers ashore, he learned that Tumbez was in rebellion, and he also learned what had happened upon the balsas, on account of which so great sorrow came upon the men that it was a marvellous thing, because all his information led him to rely on Tumbez, thinking that there he might refresh and rest himself. Then, arriving at the village, and seeing it all burnt and destroyed and in revolt, for after [the people of] la Puna burned it, it had never been rebuilt, the men of Nicaragua had cause for sighs, and the soldiers heaped maledictions upon the governor for leading them, lost men, into remote lands with so sparse a population, and they cursed Coaque for the [misleading] wealth it had given them, for up to now and in this region of Tumbez, no news had been received of the greatness of this land. While they were in this confusion, it befell that an Indian of this place of Tumbez came in peace, and he said to Marquis Pizarro that he had had no wish to flee, for he

knew what a dire thing was war, for there had been [war] in Cuzco, and that it seemed to him that the Spaniards were men of war and of much power, and that they were destined to conquer everything, and that for this reason he had not wished to go with the others, and [he begged] that his house be not robbed. The Marquis told him to cause a cross to be put where he lived, and he said that his orders were that where it should be found nothing should be touched. And thus he gave orders to Rodrigo Nuñez, who was the distributor of rations, and he proclaimed that no one was to go to a house where a cross might be seen. This Rodrigo Nuñez took great care in distributing the food which the Indians brought together when they came out [from the town] in peace, because [though] the people came in peace, no Spaniard dared to enter an Indian's house to take anything from him, nor did they dare to take anything from any other place under penalty of being visited with just punishment, and whoever was not in favour of this [law] was exiled or slain. And all this

was kept up until Don Pedro de Alvarado arrived in these parts. The men whom he brought came with their bad habits from Guatimala, and they were the inventors of plundering when Almagro took them to Chile, as will be told later on.[53] Then, seeing that Tumbez was in revolt and the troops sick, there was great need of eating meat and other things, and Marquis Pizarro sent captain Soto and seventy cavalrymen in search of Chile Masa,[54] for thus was the Lord of Tumbez called, and thus it was done. And while they were going in search of him, captain Soto and the men who were with him attempted a half-hearted rebellion against the governor, pretending to go to a certain province in the direction of Quito. And because some did not join the revolt and because Joan de la Torre and others fled and came to give warning to the Marquis, he [Soto] dissimulated his wish, but thenceforth, whenever Soto went anywhere he [Pizarro] sent with him his two brothers Juan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro. While, as I say, Soto was going in search of

Chile Masa, it happened that while the cavalry was going up a very sharp slope, Chile Masa saw them from a mountain where he was hidden, and Chile Masa said to some chiefs whom he had with him: If these Christians go up the mountain with their horses I can not escape. It would be a good thing for us to go out to them in peace. Then he despatched an Indian to Soto to say that if they [the Spaniards] would pardon him, he would come to them in peace. Soto gave him assurance, and so he came forth with his chiefs and Indians, and then Soto caused it to be made known to the governor, on account of which there was much contentment in the camp, and within a few days he arrived [there] with the cacique and Indians who were given a good welcome, and they were ordered to go to their houses and to have no fear. Then turning to the Indian who said that he had not wished to flee and that there had been war in Cuzco, the Marquis had him summoned and questioned through an interpreter, who was one of the boys whom, as I have said, they took

to Spain and who was called Don Francisquillo, because the two Spaniards who, as I said, remained in this land had been killed by the Indians a little while before we came hither, one in Tumbez and the other in Cinto.[55] Then, the Indian being asked what Cuzco might be, he said that it was a great town where the Lord of all of them dwelt, and that it had much well-peopled land and many vessels of gold and silver and things inlaid with plates of gold. And certainly the Indian told the truth, and less than he might have said. But as the men were so downcast they did not believe him, saying that it was a stratagem of the governor, who had taught the Indian what to say in order to encourage the soldiers, and so they believed nothing of the news as to what manner of land it was.

While matters were in this condition, news was received of certain valleys such as Pariña, Tangarala and Poechos,[56] and, notwithstanding what the Indian [messenger] told them, they [the Spaniards] held it to be a romance. The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro agreed to

pass onward in search of these rumoured places, and he, in person, and the sound men set forth for Pohechos, taking Hernando de Soto with him. He left his brother Hernando Pizarro with the rest of the men, who were sick, and with the peones in order that little by little he might lead them after him. Having set out, Don Francisco Pizarro went on by forced marches until he reached Pohechos where he had news of the province of Caxas and of the history of Atabalipa, who was going from Quito to Caxamalca waging war upon his brother Guascar who, at this time, was the natural Lord reigning over this land.[57] When he got this news he sent off Hernando de Soto with some cavalry to Caxas in order to learn who Atabalipa was and what troops he had, and in order to see the province of Caxas and bring him news of it. When Hernando de Soto was gone, he tarried away more time than he was granted, which caused a suspicion in the camp that all was not going as it had been arranged in Tumbez. While they were in this anxiety, Hernando Pizarro arrived

with the [sick] men already mentioned. While matters were in this state, it befell that certain Spaniards who were in the Chira [valley],[58] having come thither from Tumbez [were imperilled by] the Indians of that province and of Tangarala [who] plotted to kill them, which was discovered by an Indian woman whom Palomino, the citizen of Piura, had. When the Spaniards learned that [the Indians] wished to kill them, [the Spaniards] retired to a fortress which they [the Indians] call Guaca,[59] where they adore their idols, and from there they sent a messenger to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro asking that he send them [the besieged Spaniards] aid. When this was learned, and Soto having now arrived bearing news of Atabalipa and the province of Caxas, from which the troops derived some consolation, although they did not lack fear on account of the news of the great number of troops who were with Atabalipa, the Marquis set forth with some cavalry to the Chira to succour the Spaniards who were there, as I have said, leaving all the rest of the troops

with Hernando Pizarro as if he were the captain-general. Then, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro having arrived at the place where the Spaniards were, he sent to call the cacique of Chira and others of Tangarala who, as they were caught, had dissimulated, saying that they did not wish to do thus and so. Then [having finally] assembled the caciques, he told them that he had certain information to the effect that they had wished to kill the Spaniards and had assembled to do so, and that, if they had not been detected, they would have done so, for which he condemned to death thirteen caciques, and, after giving them the garrote, they [the Spaniards] burned them. This done, the Marquis set forth for Tangarala where he had agreed to establish a town, and so he did so, and afterwards it was moved to Piura where it is now established, and this was the first town founded in this kingdom, and all the villages and Indians that there were from Tumbez to Piura were divided up [among the Spaniards].[60]

While things were in this state, and while

Hernando Pizarro was at Pohechos, Atabalipa, having news of [the arrival of] the Spaniards, sent an Inga orejon, whom they called Apoo, [with orders] to go disguised in the clothes of the tallanas[61] to see the Christians and make the acquaintance of their captain, and to see what manner of men they were. Then, the Indian having reached Pohechos, the caciques rebelled and ceased to serve Hernando Pizarro and those of the Inga's men—who were with him as they had been wont to do. And at this time, the Indian whom, as I have said, Atabalipa had sent, took the clothing of the tallanas and a basket of guanas, which are a fruit which there is in this land, and he went to see Hernando Pizarro, taking with him that present, pretending that it was his purpose to beg forgiveness for the cacique of Pohechos who had ceased to yield service. And when he had arrived, Hernando Pizarro arose in great wrath, and taking him by the scarf which he wore, which is the tallano clothing, he threw him upon the ground and gave him many kicks, and the Indian hid his

face so as not to be known, and thus he stole away. This event was learned [later] through this same Indian. Afterwards he came openly to see the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, as will be related further on, and then he went to give news to his Lord of what he had seen and of what had befallen him. And when he had arrived at Caxamalca, where Atabalipa was, he told him that they [the Spaniards] were bearded robbers who had come out of the sea, and that the knights came upon sheep such as those which there are in the Collao, though larger than any which are in this land. Then, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro having determined to settle at Tangarala, as I have said, he sent word to Juan Pizarro his brother [ordering] him to go with fifty horsemen to the Piura [valley] and there establish himself with a large watch consisting of many spies who kept themselves in knowledge of the doings of Atabalipa's forces, and all the rest of the men with Hernando Pizarro were ordered to come to Tangarala. And all these things having been arranged, the Marquis Don Fran-

cisco Pizarro formed the settlement of Tangarala, distributing the repartimientos which I have mentioned, and there were great differences of opinion as to who was to have Tumbez, and it fell to captain Soto [and his men] because they were still incredulous [of the reports received], and from here Francisco de Ysasaga returned to Santo Domingo, promising his horse as a reward to whomever should get leave for him [to do so].[62]

These tallanos wear shirts and mantles of cotton worked with decorations in wool; others wear scarfs about the head and under the chin with a trimming of fringe. The women wear long cloaks which fall from the throat to the feet. They have the lips bored near the chin, and in the holes they place round buttons of gold and silver which conceal the holes. They take them out and put them in whenever they wish to do so. They adored idols like the other [people] mentioned, and also the sun. By command of the Inga there were here deposits of dried small lizards which were to be carried as tribute to the Inga at

Cuzco with all the other things which they have to pay in tribute. From this Tangarala to Cuzco it is almost three hundred leagues.

Then, having arranged for the settlement and the allotment of land at Tangarala, the Marquis left as lieutenant-governor Antonio Navarro, His Majesty's paymaster; here also remained the other officers [including] the treasurer and inspector.[63] Then, taking all the rest of the men, leaving only those who were the settlers in that place, he [the Marquis] set out for Caxamalca, publishing it among the natives that he was going to favour and assist Guascar, the natural Lord of this kingdom, who was now fallen and whom the captains of Atabalipa, Quizquiz and Challicuchima, were carrying off in a state of vanquishment. Then, as they were journeying along with this purpose in Sarran, the same Indian named Apoo who, as I have said, was misused by Hernando Pizarro at Pohechos, came out [to meet the Spaniards]. He came openly, with certain impudent drakes,[64] and two shirts with decorations of silver and gold, all

of which he presented to Don Francisco Pizarro, saying that it was sent by Atabalipa. And the coming of this Indian was for the purpose of counting how many men there were, and so he went from one Spaniard to another, trying their strength in such a manner that they laughed at him, and asking them to draw their swords and show them to him. It befell that when he came to one Spaniard to do this he [the Indian] laid his hand upon his [the Spaniard's] beard, for which the Spaniard gave him many violent blows. When this was learned of by the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro he proclaimed that no one should lay hands upon an Indian for anything which he did. Then, having counted the Spaniards, and having done the things which I have related, the Indian returned to his Lord Atabalipa, and related to him all that he had seen, and he said that, in all, there were some one hundred and ninety Spaniards of whom about ninety were cavalry, and that they were robbers and wastrels who came as knights, mounted on sheep, as I have before declared,

and that they had caused to be prepared many ropes in order to tie them [the horses], because they came very full of fear, and [he said] that when they [the Spaniards] saw the troops which he [Atabalipa] had, they would flee. With this news Atabalipa took courage, and he held them to be of but small account, for had he held them in fear he would have sent troops to the slopes of the mountains, which is a slope of more than three leagues and very difficult, a place where there are many bad passes unknown to the Spaniards. With the third part of the troops which he had, and which he might have stationed in these passes, he could have killed all the Spaniards who were going up [into the mountains] or at least the greater portion of them, and those who escaped would have turned in a rout and would have been slain upon the road. Our Lord ordered matters thus because it was for His service that Christians entered this land. Then, the Marquis [went on] travelling by forced marches, and when we were come to the ascent into the moun-

tains, did not lack for a sufficiency of fear lest there should be soldiers in ambush who would deliver a surprise attack upon us. When we had issued from the mountains and had arrived at Caxamalca,[65] Atabalipa was at some baths which are something more than a league from the town of Caxamalca where he [Atabalipa] had established his Camp, and, according to what we learned, he had more than forty thousand Indian warriours. Then, this same day, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro sent Hernando de Soto with twenty cavalrymen to where Atabalipa was, [with orders to] say to him that he [Pizarro] had come on behalf of God and the King to preach to them and to have them as friends and to say other words of peace and friendship, and [to announce to Atabalipa] that he [Pizarro] was coming to see him. Then, having arrived at the place where Atabalipa was, he being in a small house which was kept for the Lord, together with other rooms, for his use when he went thither to rest and to bathe, and there was a great tank which they had built, very well made of

hewn stone, and to the tank came two pipes of water, one hot and the other cold, and there the one was tempered by the other whenever the Lord or his wives wished to bathe, and no other person dared to enter the water, under penalty of death. Then, having arrived, Hernando de Soto found him [Atabalipa], as I have said, with all the troops in readiness for war. Atabalipa was in this small house, as I have said, seated on his duo (*duho*, seat); a very fine thin mantle through which one could see was held by two women before him, and they covered him up with it so that no one should see him, for it is the custom of some of these Lords not to be seen save rarely by their vassals. When Soto had arrived upon his horse, like the rest, he [Atabalipa] ordered them to lower the mantle, and he listened to all that Soto said to him, which was all that he had been ordered to say, all of which was made clear to him by the interpreter Don Martinillo, one of the boys already mentioned. After having heard the message he replied, and he told Hernando de Soto to return and announce to the Mar-

quis and the other Christians that on the morrow he would go to the place where they were, and [he ordered that] they were to make reparation to him for the disrespect they had shown in taking some mattings from a room where his father, Guaina Capa, had been wont to sleep when he was alive, and that they were to repay all that they had taken between the bay of Sant Matheo and that spot, as well as all the food they had eaten, [and such repayment] they were to hold in readiness against his coming. Hearing this, Hernando de Soto was dismayed, and on a plain which was there, he [Atabalipa] caused a skirmish to be fought against the cavalry, and when the cavalry had barely come up to where the Indians were posted, the Indians rose up and fled in fear. When Soto had returned to Caxamalca, Atabalipa commanded that those Indians who had arisen and had been afraid should be put to death, as well as those of their caciques who were there and their children and women, so as to fill his troops with fear and so that none of them should take flight when the time came

to fight with the Christians. He [Pizarro?] and his captains made much of these cruelties, as will be related further on. Having returned, Soto gave the reply to the Marquis [and an account] of all that had befallen, and with a good deal of fear, they spent the whole night on guard. That same night Atabalipa despatched twenty thousand soldiers, under a captain of his called Lumenavi, with many ropes, to capture the rear-guard of the Spaniards, and secretly they [the Indians] awaited the time when they [the Spaniards] should flee so that they might attack them and tie them up, for they [the Indians] believed that when they saw so many troops the [Spanish] troops would rise up and take to flight.

Then the Spaniards spent the whole night on guard, as I have said, with a fair measure of fear, for Soto and those who were with him related what they had seen and the great number of troops which the Indian [Atabalipa] had and because they were without knowledge of how these Indians fought or of what valour was theirs, because up to that

time they had not fought with Indian warriours, save in Tumbez and on la Puna where the number of them did not go above six hundred. After dawn, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro arranged his troops, dividing the cavalry into two portions of which he gave the command of one to Hernando Pizarro and the command of the other to Hernando de Soto. In like manner he divided the infantry, he himself taking one part and giving the other to his brother Juan Pizarro. At the same time, he ordered Pedro de Candia with two or three infantrymen to go with trumpets to a small fort which is in the plaza of Caxamalca and to station themselves there with a small piece of ordnance which he carried in the field, and [it was arranged] that when all the Indians, and Atabalipa with them, had entered the plaza, they [the Spaniards] would make them [Candia and his men] a signal, after which the firing should begin and the trumpets should sound, and at the sound of the trumpets the cavalry should dash out of the large galpón where they were in readiness, and wherein many

more of them might have been hidden than there were in their troop. The galpón had many doors, all those on the plaza being large, so that they might easily allow those who were within to dash out mounted. At the same time, Don Francisco Pizarro and his brother Juan Pizarro were in another part of the same galpón so as to come out after the cavalry. Thus it was that all [the Spaniards] were in this galpón, without one of them being lacking. Nor did they go out into the plaza, because the Indians did not see what sort of troops they were and because it would put fear into their [the Indians'] hearts when they all came out together. All [the Spaniards] decked their horses' trappings with bells in order to fill the Indians with fear. When all was thus with the Spaniards, the news was carried to Atabalipa by some Indians who were spying about that all the Spaniards were waiting in readiness in a galpón, full of fear, and that none of them [dared to] appear on the plaza. And in very deed the Indians told the truth, for I have heard that many of the Spaniards

made water without knowing it out of sheer terror. On learning this, Atabalipa bade them give him food to eat, and he ordered that all his men should do likewise. These people had the custom of dining in the morning, and it was the same with all the natives of this kingdom. The Lords, having dined, were wont to spend the day drinking until the evening, when they supped very lightly, and the lowly Indians spent the day in toil. Then, having dined, finishing about the hour of high mass, he [Atabalipa] began to draw up his men and to approach nearer to Caxamalca. When his squadrons were formed in such wise that they covered the fields, and when he himself had mounted into a litter, he began to march; before him went two thousand Indians who swept the road by which he travelled, and these were followed by the warriours, half of whom were marching in the fields on one side of him and half on the other side, and neither half entered upon the road itself at all. In like manner, he bore with him the Lord of Chincha,[66] riding upon a litter, which seemed

to his men a wonderful honour, for no Indian, no matter how great a Lord he might be, ever appeared before him [the Inga] save with a burden upon his back and with naked feet. Then, too, so great was the amount of furniture of gold and silver which they bore, that it was a marvel to observe how the sun glinted upon it. Likewise, there marched before Atabalipa many Indians singing and dancing. This Lord required for his going over the half league between the baths where he was and [the city of] Caxamalca [the time between] the hour of high mass, as I have said, and three hours before nightfall. Then the [Indian] troops having arrived at the entrance of the plaza, the squadrons began to enter it to the accompaniment of great songs, and thus entering they occupied every part of the plaza. The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, observing how Atabalipa had now drawn near to the plaza, sent Padre Fray Vicente de Valverde, first bishop of Cuzco, Hernando de Aldama, a good soldier, and Don Martinillo, the interpreter, with orders to go and speak

to Atabalipa and require it of him in the name of God and of the King that he subject himself to the law of our Lord Jesus Christ and to the service of His Majesty, and [to say] that the Marquis would regard him as a brother, and would not consent that any injury be done to him nor any damage be done to his land. When the Padre had arrived at the litter in which Atabalipa travelled, he spoke to him and told him the things he had come to say, and he preached unto him the matters pertaining to our holy faith, they being declared [unto the Inga] by the interpreter. The Padre carried in his hands a breviary from which he read the matters which he preached. Atabalipa asked him for it, and he [Valverde] closing it, handed it to him [Atabalipa]. When he had it in his hands he did not know how to open it, and he threw it upon the ground. He [Valverde] called upon Aldana to draw near to him [Atabalipa] and give him the sword, and Aldana drew it and brandished it, but did not wish to plunge it into the Inga. When this occurred he told them to get them thence,

as they were mere scurvy rogues, for he was going to have all of them put to death. Hearing this, the Padre returned and related all to the Marquis, and Atabalipa entered the plaza with all his pomp and the Lord of Chincha in his train. When they had entered the plaza and had seen that no Spaniard made his appearance, he asked his captains where were these Christians who failed to appear, and they said to him: Lord, they are in hiding for very fear. The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro seeing the two litters did not know which was that of Atabalipa, so he ordered Juan Pizarro his brother to attack one with the infantry and he would attack the other. This being ordered, he made the signal to Candia, who began to fire and at the same time caused the trumpets to sound, and the cavalry came out in troop formation, and the Marquis with the infantry, as has been said, and it all happened in such wise that, with the noise of the firing, and the blowing of the trumpets and the bells on the horses, the Indians were thrown into confusion and were cut to pieces.

The Spaniards attacked them and began to slay them, and so great was the fear which the Indians had, and so great was their anxiety to flee, that, not being able to pass through the gateway [of the plaza], they threw down a portion of the wall around the plaza, a portion more than two thousand paces long and more than an estado high. The cavalry pursued them as far as the baths where they wrought great havoc among them, and would have wrought much more but for the coming of night. To return now to Don Francisco Pizarro and his brother, they sallied, as has been said, with the infantry, and the Marquis attacked the litter of Atabalipa, and his brother that of the Lord of Chincha; [the latter of] whom they killed there in his litter, and the same fate would have been Atabalipa's had not the Marquis been there, because they were unable to pull him out of the litter, and although they slew the Indians who bore it, others at once took their places and held it aloft, and in this manner they spent a great time in overcoming and killing Indians, and out of weariness, a

Spaniard made as if to give him [Atabalipa] a blow with a knife in order to kill him, and the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro prevented it, and by his prevention the Marquis received a wound in the hand from the Spaniard who wished to slay Atabalipa. Because of this, the Marquis gave loud cries, saying: Let no one wound the Indian on pain of death. Hearing these words seven or eight Spaniards were spurred on, and they rushed upon the litter from one side, and, with great efforts, they turned it over on its side, and thus was Atabalipa made a prisoner, and the Marquis carried him off [with him] to his room, and there they set a guard over him who watched him day and night. Then, night having come, all the Spaniards gathered together and gave many thanks to our Lord for the mercies he had vouchsafed to them, and they were well content with having made prisoner the Lord, because, had they not taken him so, the land would not have been won as it was won.[67]

Atabalipa, seeing himself a prisoner, feared that they would kill him on the following day,

because he understood the Marquis to be favourable to his brother Guascar, who was now held prisoner by his [Atabalipa's] captains, and but shortly before had news of this reached him [Atabalipa]. And having the fear which I relate, on the morrow he asked them to call to him the interpreter, for he wished to speak to the Marquis. When Don Martinillo was come, he bade him say to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro that [it would not be well] to kill him, and that he [Atabalipa] would give him much gold and silver. Hearing this, the Marquis ordered that he be brought before him, and he asked him what he said, and he [Atabalipa] repeated what he had said to the interpreter. The Marquis asked him: How much gold and silver would he give? Atabalipa said that he would fill with gold a room where the Marquis was, and that he would twice fill the big galpón, where, as I have said, the Spaniards collected together, with silver, as his ransom. In truth a great treasure! And having said these words, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, acting on the best

judgment of his captains and his own, caused a scrivener to be called who put down in writing what this Indian [Atabalipa] ordered, and at the same time he asked the Indian: On whose behalf he ordered this thing? And he [Atabalipa] replied: On behalf of all those [Spaniards] who were to be found in Caxamalca holding guard over him, and those who had routed his own forces. These Spaniards who were here in Caxamalca would be about two hundred in number. And this act and declaration made before a scrivener was the cause of his death, as will be related further on. When the act was drawn up, Atabalipa despatched his captains to cause a great treasure to be gathered together and sent to him.[68]

This command which I relate being given by this Indian, the Marquis made enquiries of him concerning his brother Guascar, asking where he was, and Atabalipa replied that his captains held him prisoner. The Marquis ordered him to have him [Guascar] brought thither alive, [and ordered that] they should not kill him [Guascar], for if it were done he

[Atabalipa] would himself be killed. Then, returning to the defeating of the Indians in Caxamalca, those who escaped went to the place where were those captains of Atabalipa who were holding Guascar prisoner, and they gave them tidings to the effect that Atabalipa had been killed by the Christians, and many soldiers with him. All this threw the captains and Indians into great confusion, and they did not know what was best to be done, for they had greatly ill-used Guascar in prison, and they had his shoulders bound by means of ropes to pieces of wood, and for this reason they dared not to let him go free, nor to confederate themselves with him, and if they had not thus treated him, they would have [released him], and if Guascar had been released, the winning of this land by the few Spaniards who were in it would have been jeopardized, for the Marquis had in Caxamalca [only] some two hundred men, and in Tangarala there remained about one hundred. While things were in the state I describe, and while these captains were in

great confusion, the messengers of Atabalipa arrived and gave them the tidings that he was alive, and told about the treasure which he had ordered, and [they said] that he ordered them to gather together all the treasure in the land and send it to him. When Guascar learned this, they relate that he said: That scoundrel Atabalipa, where is this gold and silver which he would give to the Christians? Does he not know that it is all mine? I myself shall give it to them, then they will kill him. Upon learning this, Challicuchima, captain-general of Atabalipa, secretly sent him [Atabalipa] a message to inform him of what Guascar was saying, and what he saw would be his fate. When Atabalipa knew that which his captain had sent to tell him, and what Guascar had said, he determined to carry out a stratagem worthy of a sagacious man, which this Indian certainly was, and it befell that one day, when the Marquis sent to invite him to dine with him, as it was his custom to do, Atabalipa pretended to be weeping in deep affliction. Learning of this, the

Marquis went to see him in order to find out the cause of it, and when he asked him [Atabalipa] about it, he weepingly refused to tell. Finally the Marquis ordered him to speak out. He replied: I am thus because you are about to kill me. The Marquis bade him have no fear and bade him tell his trouble, for he would not be slain. He [Atabalipa] finally said: Lord, you gave me orders that my brother Guascar be not killed, because you would kill me were it done. My captains, without my knowing of it, have slain him, and for this reason I am in the understanding that you will now kill me. Then the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, not understanding the trick, turned to him to say: Is the Indian in very truth dead? He said that it was so. The Marquis reassured him, and told him to be without fear since they had slain him [Guascar] without his [Atabalipa's] knowing of it, and [Pizarro said] that no harm would come to him, nor would he be put to death. Then, being assured of his life, Atabalipa, with the trickery already related, quickly

sent a messenger to Challicuchima [with orders] that Guascar be slain at once, and so they killed him at Guambos, or, as some say, at Guanun, and they say that his body was hurled into a river. Learning of this, Atabalipa sent orders to his captains Challicuchima and Quizquiz [to the effect] that Challicuchima should station himself in Xauxa with half of the warriours, and that Quizquiz should go to Cuzco and establish himself there with the other half of the warriours which they had. This came to be known after the death of Atabalipa, and after two other deaths, those of two brothers of his who had come to shelter and protect the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and who had been captains of Guascar. Now I shall relate the death of these two brothers, and shall tell about the war between Guascar and Atabalipa, as well as some other matters about this Atabalipa and his sagacity.[69]

While these two brothers of his, one called Guamantito and the other Mayta Yupangui, were with the Marquis, they asked him for

permission to go to Cuzco.[70] The Marquis told them to take great care that they be not killed there, and they replied that, as they were of his [Guascar's] house, they had nothing to fear and that no one would dare to slay them. Then the Marquis gave them permission, and Atabalipa learned of it and said to him: Lord, give not this permission to these brothers of mine, for they are little liked up there [in Cuzco], and if they are killed, you will say that I ordered it. The Marquis told this to the two brothers and held back their going for some days, but so much did they persist in [their wish] to go that the Marquis gave them permission. And when it was granted, they asked him for a sword, saying that with it they would defend themselves from all their enemies. The Marquis gave it to them, and once more Atabalipa besought him not to let them go. And when the Indians had set forth, Atabalipa despatched [orders] that they be killed, and so these two brothers were put to death.

I shall relate the war between Atabalipa

and Guascar as I heard it from many Indians and important Lords of this land. In this kingdom there were five Lords Ingas before the era in which the Spaniards entered it. These began to conquer and rule this land, making themselves Kings of all of it, because before these Lords vanquished it all the land was divided into behetrias, although there were some Lords who had small peoples subject to their government, but these were few, and so the behetrias were ever bringing war the one against the other. These Indians say that an Inga arose [and became] the first Lord. Some say that he came forth from the island of Titicaca, which is an isle in a lake in the Collao which is seventy leagues in circuit, and in it, at times, there are storms as in the sea. A small fish, somewhat more than a palm long, is raised in the lake. The water is a little saltish. This lake drains into another which is formed in the province of Carangas and Quillacas, almost as great as this other [lake]. No outlet is to be found, nor [is it known] by what way it is drained. It must be under-

stood to reach the sea by underground channels, because, to judge by the great quantity of water which enters it, it can not be otherwise. Other Indians say that this first Lord came forth from Tambo. This Tambo is in Condesuios, six leagues, more or less, from Cuzco. This first Inga, so they say, was called Inga Vira Cocha.[71] They say that he conquered, won and subjected to his rule the country for thirty leagues around Cuzco, where this first Inga established himself. This Inga Vira Cocha left one son who was called Topa Inga Yupangui Pachacuti who, they say, won one hundred leagues, [as well as other sons] Guaina Inga and Inga Amaro Inga. And these two successors conquered as far as Caxamalca. Guaina Capa, who was the fifth descendant of these, went conquering as far as Quito, and his captains, in another direction, as far as Chile and as far as the bay of Sant Mateo, and it is almost a thousand leagues from one region to the other. These Lords had the custom of taking their own sisters as wives, because they said that no one

was worthy of them save themselves. There was a lineage of these sisters who descended by the same line as these Lords, and the sons of these women were the ones who inherited the kingdom, always the oldest son. Then, besides these sisters, these Lords had all the daughters of the caciques of the kingdom for their concubines, and these waited upon the great sisters, and in number they were much more than four thousand. Thus all the Indian women who looked comely to them were divided into lots by these sisters who, themselves, were many. The rule which these Ladies observed in serving their brothers and husbands was that one of them should serve a week with that portion of the Indian women already mentioned which was allotted to her, and she slept with him herself, or else the Indian girl who pleased him most did so, and in this way all the sisters served their turn until they came back to the first one again. These sisters lived in certain great inclosures surrounded by many rooms and [provided with] guards and porters, and those who did

not serve until their time came, occupied themselves only with dances, jollities and orgies. These Ladies had, or else it was given to them, everything they wished and asked for. While this Guainacapa was conquering around Quito, they say he dallied in winning it [Quito] during more than ten years, and he had this Atabalipa by the daughter of the chief Lord of this province of Quito.[72] Having finished the conquest, Guainacapa commanded that a fortress be built in memory of the victory which he had won, and thus it was the custom to do in all the provinces which they gained. While they were engaged upon this work, there broke out among them a plague of smallpox, never seen among them before, which killed many Indians. And while Guaina Capa was shut up, engaged in the fast which he was wont to make, which took the form of being alone in a room without access to any woman, and without eating either salt or aji, with which they dress their food, and without drinking chicha (he was thus for nine days, at other times for three),

while Guaina Capa was thus at his fast they relate that three Indians never seen before came in to him. They were very small, like dwarfs. They said to him: Inga, we are come to summon you. And when he saw this vision [and heard] this which they said to him, he cried out to his servants, and as they entered, these three [dwarfs] already mentioned disappeared, and no one saw them save Guaina Capa, and he said to his servants: Who are these dwarfs who came to summon me? And they answered unto him: We have not seen them. Then said Guaina Capa: I am about to die. And at once he fell ill of the smallpox. While he was thus very ill, they sent messengers to Pachacama who were the chasques, that is, post-runners whom they were wont to station a league apart [along the roads]. One Indian would run one league, and on seeing him another, who was in waiting, would come out upon the road to meet him, and while he who was coming was still running in this manner, he gave great cries, telling what his message was, so that it was all told by the time he

reached the place where the other was, and so he who heard it set out without hearing more, and in this manner the message went from Cuzco to Quito, which is almost . . . . leagues, in five days. And in this manner they sent to ask Pachacama: What should be done for the health of Guainacapa? And the wizards who spoke with the demon put the question to his idol, and the demon spoke through the idol and bade them take him out into the sun, and soon he would become well. Then, when they did so, matters went the other way, and on being placed in the sun, this Guainacapa died. The Indians say that he was a great friend of the poor, and he ordered that great care should be taken of them throughout the land. They say that he was very affable to his servants, and very grave. They say that he was wont to drink much more than three Indians together, but that they never saw him drunk, and that, when his captains and chief Indians asked him how, though drinking so much, he never got intoxicated, they say that he replied that he

drank for the poor of whom he supported many. And had this Guainacapa been alive when we Spaniards entered this land, it would have been impossible for us to win it, for he was much beloved by all his vassals. Ten years had passed since his death when we entered the land. And likewise, had the land not been divided by the wars between Guascar and Atabalipa, we would not have been able to enter or win the land unless we could gather one thousand Spaniards for the task, and at that time it was impossible to get together even five hundred Spaniards on account of their scanty numbers and the evil reputation which the country had, as I have said. Guainacapa being dead, they raised up as Lord Guascar his son, to whom the kingdom [rightfully] belonged, and who was in Cuzco, for there his father Guainacapa had left him. But after some years had passed by, and Atabalipa got his growth, and he was in Quito, where his father begot him, as has been said, he had become very manful and bellicose, and for this reason they advised Guascar to

summon him and keep him by him [at court]. When Guascar sent to call him, Atabalipa replied to the messengers of his brother [saying that], as he had to have an Inga there [in Quito] as a governor, they might say [to Guascar] that he [Atabalipa] was there [for the purpose]. Then, Guascar being counselled by his vassals not to allow it, lest he [Atabalipa] rise up in revolt, he [Guascar] sent a second time to summon him, and he replied in the same manner, and the third time he sent to call him he [Guascar] added that if he did not at once obey the orders given to him, he [Guascar] would send for him. The vassals he [Atabalipa] had in Quito through the family of his mother, as I have said, advised him to arise, as he was the Lord, and because, if he went to Cuzco, he would kill his brother, for he also was a son of Guainacapa, like Guascar, albeit a bastard in order to inherit the kingdom from those to whom it belonged, as I have related above, and [they said] that [the rightful heirs] would aid him and would make him the Lord, for it

was known that the men of Quito were the most valiant Indians of this kingdom, as indeed they were. Atabalipa, seeing the will of his vassals, caused himself to be raised up as Lord over them and over the Cañares who aided him.[73]

When Guascar received the news of the uprising of his brother Atabalipa, he sent his captains against him with warriours, and at Tomebamba there was a battle between the two forces, at which Atabalipa was made a prisoner by the men of Guascar, and after they had placed him in a house under guard, one night he broke loose, saying that the sun, who was his father, had set him free, and so do all these Lords declare that they were the sons of the sun. [In truth] it was on account of the insufficient guard which was put over him, for until midnight these Indians keep watch vigilantly, but from midnight onward they all go to sleep, and we Spaniards have seen this during our experiences while conquering the country, especially in the region of Cuzco. Having got free, Atabalipa

set himself to re-forming his troops, and he went on ever victorious. These Indians say that the reason why Guascar was but little liked was that he was very grave, and he never let himself be seen by his people, nor did he ever come out to eat with them in the plaza, as it was the custom of former Lords to do sometimes, although others say that the chief reason which led to his downfall was that which I shall here set forth. These Lords had the law and custom of taking that one of their Lords who died and embalming him, wrapping him up in many fine clothes, and to these Lords they allotted all the service which they had had in life, in order that these bundles [mummies] might be served in death as well as they had been in life. Their service of gold and silver was not touched, nor was anything else which they had, nor were those who served them [removed from] the house without being replaced, and provinces were set aside to give them support. The Lord who entered upon a new reign had to take new servants. His vessels had to be of

wood and pottery until there was time to make them of gold and silver, and always those who began to reign carried out all this, and it was for this reason that there was so much treasure in this land, because, as I have said, he who succeeded to the kingdom always hastened to make better vessels and houses [than his predecessors]. And as the greater part of the people, treasure, expenses and vices were under the control of the dead, each dead man had allotted to him an important Indian, and likewise an Indian woman, and whatever these wanted they declared it to be the will of the dead one. Whenever they wished to eat, to drink, they said that the dead ones wished to do that same thing. If they wished to go and divert themselves in the houses of other dead folk, they said the same, for it was customary for the dead to visit one another, and they held great dances and orgies, and sometimes they went to the house of the living, and sometimes the living came to their. At the same time as the dead people, many [living], as well men as women,

came, saying that they wished to serve, and this was not forbidden them by the living, because all were at liberty to serve these [the dead], each one serving the dead person he desired to serve. These dead folk had great number of the chief people [in their service], as well men as women, because they lived very licentiously, the men having the women as concubines, and drinking and eating very lavishly. I came to understand this when we first entered Cuzco, for the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro sent Don Diego de Almagro, Hernando de Soto and Mango Inga after Quizquiz who was carrying all the stolen earth [gold] to Quito, and just before setting out a captain of Mango Inga's who was to go with him came to the Marquis to ask him to send and ask it of one of these dead men that a relative of his who was in his service be given to him [the captain] for wife. The Marquis sent me [with orders to] go with Don Martin, the interpreter, to speak to this dead man and ask on his [Pizarro's] behalf that the Indian woman be given to this captain. Then

I, who believed that I was going to speak to some living Indian, was taken to a bundle, [like] those of these dead folk, which was seated in a litter, which held him and on one side was the Indian spokesman who spoke for him, and on the other was the Indian woman, both sitting close to the dead man. Then, when we were arrived before the dead one, the interpreter gave the message, and being thus for a short while in suspense and in silence, the Indian man looked at the Indian woman (as I understand it, to find out her wish). Then, after having been thus as I relate it for some time, both the Indians replied to me that it was the will of the Lord the dead one that she go, and so the captain already mentioned carried off the Indian woman, since the Apoo, for thus they called the Marquis, wished it.[74]

Returning now to Guascar, [it is said that] one day becoming angry with these dead people, he said that he was going to have them all buried, and was going to take away from them all that they possessed, and that there were to be no more dead, but only living,

for they [the dead] had all that was best in his kingdom. Since, as I have said, the greater part of the chief people were with these [the dead] on account of the many vices which they had there, and they began to hate Guascar, and they say that the captains whom he sent against Atabalipa let themselves be conquered and that others deserted and passed over to him, and for this reason could Atabalipa conquer, for otherwise neither he nor his people were sufficient to vanquish a village, much less a whole kingdom, and so was Guascar taken prisoner, as I have said, by the captains of Atabalipa, and slain.

Returning now to the imprisonment of Atabalipa, as I have said, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro kept him prisoner, awaiting the time when the treasure which he had promised should be assembled, and also awaiting the time when more Spaniards should come to the land, because he did not dare to press on further with only those whom he had, especially as he had to keep guard over Atabalipa, because in accordance with the degree in which

the natives feared and obeyed him, it was not possible to go up to Cuzco without freeing him, otherwise so many people would attack the Spaniards in the many bad passes which there are, that they would kill them all. While matters were as I tell them, Atabalipa advised the Marquis, in order to gather the treasure which he had ordered more speedily, that it would be necessary to send a captain with men to Pachacama, because, said he, this idol of Pachacama had more treasure than he [the Inga] had sent for. And so he sent to call upon the wizards who had charge of the guard of Pachacama, and he had them brought and held as prisoners, ordering them to provide him with another ransom such as he had ordered.[75] Also he asked that they give to him two Spaniards in order to send them to Cuzco in order to hasten on the bringing of the treasure. Hearing what it was that Atabalipa asked for, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro at once despatched two Spaniards to Cuzco, one being Martin Bueno, and the other Pedro Martin de Moguer, with an orejon[76]

whom Atabalipa gave them in order that he might guide them in safety and might give orders that everything they asked for should be yielded. These two Spaniards being despatched, the Marquis determined to send to Pachacama his brother Hernando Pizarro, with fifty horse, and that from there he should go up to Xauxa, and that, by means of fair words and flatteries, he should bring back with him Challicuchima, a captain of Atabalipa's and the most important one he had. And having determined upon it, he talked with Atabalipa about it, and said to him: I wish to send my brother to Pachacama with some Spaniards. Look you to it well that if any Indian rise up against them or offer opposition, I shall kill you. Then I want him to go to Xauxa and bring back with him Challicuchima, your captain, because I have a desire to see him, who, they tell me, is very valiant. Atabalipa replied: Lord, let your brother go and have no fear, for none will dare to harm him while I live, and let him take with him these guardians of Pachacama in order that

they may give him the treasure, and let them carry it [back] in order to fulfill what I have ordered. Then, when Hernando Pizarro and the men who were to go with him were in readiness, they came to take leave of the Marquis, and Atabalipa ordered that the wizards of Pachacama be summoned, and there, in the presence of the Marquis and his brother, he spoke to them, saying: Go with this brother of the Apoo, and give to him all the treasure you have [belonging to] Pachacama your idol, and, as I have commanded that a treasure of gold be obtained, so may you obtain two such, for that Pachacama of yours is no God, and even though he be so, give it, nevertheless, and all the more so since he is not [a God]. The Marquis, on learning from the interpreter what it was that Atabalipa had said, asked him why he had said that that Pachacama of theirs was not a God, since they held him to be so. Atabalipa replied: Because he is a liar. The Marquis asked him in what respect he had been a liar. Atabalipa replied: You should know, Lord, that when my father was sick in

Quito, he sent to ask him [Pachacama] what should be done for his health. He [Pachacama] commanded that he be taken out into the sun, and when he was taken out, he died; Guascar, my brother, sent to ask him [Pachacama] who was to win the victory, he or I, and [Pachacama] said that he would, and I won it. When you came, I sent to ask him who was destined to conquer, you or I, and he sent to tell me that I was. You conquered. Therefore he is a liar, and is no God, for he lies. The Marquis said to him that he [Atabalipa] knew much. Atabalipa replied that [even] shopkeepers know much. Hearing this, the Marquis told him that Pachacama was the devil who spoke to them in that place and led them into snares, for God is in heaven, and [he told him] other articles of our holy faith. This having taken place, Hernando Pizarro set forth with the guardians of the idol of Pachacama, and when he arrived there he found that they had carried off all the treasure and had hidden it, and out of what remained he sent some two hundred thousand

pesos [back to Pizarro]. Thence he went up to Xauxa,[77] where he found Challicuchima with many warriours. He came out in peace, but he held ready in the plaza of Xauxa many lances, and on the points of some were placed heads of Indians, and on others tongues, and on others hands, so that it was a fearful thing to see the cruelties which he had committed and was committing. When he had been in Xauxa some days, Hernando Pizarro said to Challicuchima that he [must] make ready to come and see his Lord Atabalipa, and he did so, and came away with him, because Atabalipa had sent to order him to do so. Now to return to the two Spaniards who went to Cuzco, they found Quizquiz there [acting with] no less cruelty than his companion had shown in Xauxa. These two Spaniards related that these were the things which Quizquiz did. Every morning he had brought to him many birds, alive and with their plumes untouched, and when they were given to him, he let them loose and let them fly away. And any Indian who angered him

was made to eat so much aji that he died, and this notwithstanding the many other deaths which he caused and had executed upon many captains and important Indians of Guascar's party. Then there was collected a great deal of gold which Quizquiz assembled by means of causing certain plates to be taken from the house of the Sun, for they were laid on over the stones of the wall and covered the whole front of the house, and at the same time [he had brought] a bench of gold encasing a great stone which had been worked into the form of a bench on which they said the Sun was wont to sit down. [And likewise was asked for] a bundle of gold which they had formed [this never made its appearance], and some vessels of gold and silver. This bench the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro took for himself, as a jewel worthy of a captain-general. It was worth upwards of seventy thousand castellanos. And with this [treasure] the Spaniards returned to Caxamalca.

Hernando Pizarro and these two Spaniards

having returned to Caxamalca, as I have said, we received news to the effect that Don Diego de Almagro was coming from Panama with reënforcements, and that at Puerto Viejo other Spaniards, who came from Nicaragua, had joined forces with him, and [we heard] that in all they were more than one hundred, because Almagro remained in Panama when the Marquis came to conquer this land, and he had not wished to come until he had news of the greatness of it. And the same thing was true of the officials of the King, who had remained in Tangarala, as I have said, for now they also came to Caxamalca. When Almagro and the troops already mentioned arrived, Atabalipa was disturbed, and he understood that he was destined to die. And when an Indian was dining with the Marquis, he asked him how he intended to distribute the Indians among the Spaniards. The Marquis told him that he meant to give a cacique to each Spaniard. [Then] Atabalipa enquired whether the Spaniards were to have each one his cacique. The Marquis told him no, but

said that he [Atabalipa] would have to build villages where the Spaniards should be together. Hearing this, Atabalipa said: I shall die. I wish to tell you, Apoo, what the Christians will have to do with these Indians in order that they make them serve them. If a Spaniard be given a thousand Indians, he will have to slay half of them before he can make the rest serve him. The Marquis reassured him, saying that he would give him the province of Quito for himself, and that the Christians would take the land between Caxamalca and Cuzco. Then, as Atabalipa was a canny Indian, he understood that he was deceiving him [Pizarro], and he formed a great friendship with Hernando Pizarro who had promised him that he would not consent to his death, and therefore Atabalipa said that he had seen no Spaniard who seemed to him so much of a Lord as Hernando Pizarro. Matters being in the state which I describe, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro determined to send his brother Hernando Pizarro to Spain with the treasure of His Majesty.

Atabalipa, learning of the departure of Hernando Pizarro, wept, saying that they would surely kill him, and he was thus [disconsolate] because Hernando Pizarro was gone away and [that part of] the treasure which had arrived was distributed. To [each of] the cavalry were allotted eight thousand pesos and to the infantry four thousand. This was being paid in full, for they were but few to whom the shares were given, and to some of the cavalry a share and a half were given, and to others a share and three-fourths, and to the infantry three-fourths or half of a share was given, and to very few a whole share, for [the treasure] was thus distributed in conformity with the service of each man and [the quality of] the horse which he had. But Almagro wished that it be not so, for he desired that he and his companion [Pizarro] each take a half of the whole, and that they give to each Spaniard one thousand, or at most two thousand, pesos. In this the Marquis was always most Christianly, for [he did not allow] anyone to be robbed of what he merited. For this distri-

bution was made among all the Spaniards who entered Caxamalca [and took part in] the capture of Atabalipa, as I say, to all Spaniards who entered that place with the Marquis, in accordance with what had been proclaimed. And to those who came afterwards nothing was given. On account of this, a great confusion burst out among the officials of the King who had come with Almagro, for they said that the treasure which Atabalipa had ordered was without limits, and that if the proclamation which had been made was preserved, they would never have anything. The officials and Almagro agreed, therefore, that Atabalipa should die, and they settled it among themselves that once he was dead, an end would be made of the proclamation about the treasure. Then they said to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro that it was not fitting that Atabalipa should live, for if he were released, His Majesty would lose the land and all the Spaniards would be slain, and indeed, had not this been maliciously plotted as it is here related, they would have been right, for,

with him [Atabalipa] at large, it would have been impossible to win the land. But the Marquis did not wish to come to this decision. Seeing this, the officials made many demands upon him, setting the service of His Majesty before all else. While matters were thus, a demon availed himself of an interpreter who was called Felipillo, one of the boys whom the Marquis had taken to Spain, and at present he was an interpreter and was enamoured of a wife of Atabalipa's, and in order to win her, he gave the Marquis to understand that Atabalipa was causing the assemblage of many troops in order to kill the Spaniards in Caxas. Learning this, the Marquis seized Challicuchima who was at large, and he made enquiries concerning this army which the interpreter said was being assembled, and although he denied it, Felipillo said the opposite, turning the sense of the words of him who was asked about the matter. Then the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro determined to send Soto to Caxas to find out if any assemblage of troops was being made, for certainly the Marquis

had no wish to kill him [Atabalipa]. Almagro and the officials, seeing the departure of Soto, hastened to the Marquis with many requests, and, as the interpreter on his part aided them with his slyness, they in time convinced the Marquis that Atabalipa should die, for the Marquis was very zealous in the service of His Majesty. And so they filled him with apprehension, and against his will he sentenced Atabalipa to death, commanding that they give him the garrote, and that when he was dead he should be burned because he had his sisters for wives.[78] Certainly these gentlemen had read and understood very few laws, for they passed this sentence upon an infidel who had never been preached to. Then Atabalipa wept, and he besought them not to kill him, for there was not an Indian in the land who would stir without his command, [and he asked] what had they to fear, holding him, as they did, a prisoner? [And he said] that if they were doing this thing for gold or silver, he would give them twice as much as had already been ordered. I saw the Marquis

weep with sorrow at not being able to grant him his life, for he certainly feared the exactions [of the officials] and the risk which there was in the land should he [Atabalipa] be set free. This Atabalipa had given his wives and Indians to understand that, if they [the Spaniards] did not burn his body, he would return to them, for the Sun his father would resuscitate him. Then, when they took him out into the plaza to give him the garrote, padre fray Vicente de Valverde, already mentioned, preached to him, bidding him become a Christian. And he asked if they would burn him should he become a Christian, and they told him no, and he said that if they would not burn him, he would be baptized, and so Fray Vicente baptized him, and they gave him the garrote, and on another day they interred him in the church which we Spaniards have in Caxamalca.[79] This was done before Soto returned to report upon what he had found to have been ordered. When he came, he brought the news that neither had he seen anything nor was there anything, and on

account of this, the Marquis sorrowed deeply for having killed him [Atabalipa], and Soto was even more grieved, for, said he, and he was right, it would have been much better to send him to Spain and [he said] that he would [gladly] have taken the duty of setting him upon the sea. And certainly this would have been the best thing that could have been done with the Indian, for it was not suitable that he remain in the land. Also it was understood that he would not have lived many days had they sent him, for he was very much reverenced and a very great Lord [and the humiliation would have killed him]. I shall relate now some of the things I saw and heard.

This Atabalipa was a well disposed Indian of fine person, of medium size, not too fat, beautiful of face and grave, with red eyes, a man much feared by his people. I was told that the Lord of Guailas asked him for leave to go to visit his land, and a limited time in which to go and return was conceded to him. He dallied somewhat longer, and when he returned, I being present, with a present of

fruit from his land, he began to tremble in such a manner that he could not stand upon his feet. Atabalipa raised his head a little and, smiling, made him a sign to go away. When they took him [Atabalipa] out to kill him, all the natives who were in the plaza, prostrated themselves upon the ground, letting themselves fall like drunken men.

This Indian was served by his wives in the order which I have already related, a sister waiting upon him ten or eight days, with a great number of daughters of Lords who served these sisters, changing every eight days. These women were ever with him in order to serve him, for no Indian man entered the [room] where he was and if one such came from some distant place, he had to enter barefoot and bearing a burden. And when his captain Challicuchima came with Hernando Pizarro and went in to see him, he entered as I say, barefoot and with a burden, and he threw himself down at his feet and kissed them, weeping. Atabalipa, with a serene face, said to him: You are welcome here,

Challicuchima, meaning: You are well come, Challicuchima. This Indian [Atabalipa] wore upon his head certain llautos, which are braids made of coloured wool half a finger thick and a finger wide, made in the manner of a crown, but round and not having points, being a hand's breadth wide and encircling the head. At the front was a fringe sewed on this llauto, a hand's breadth or more in width, made of very fine scarlet wool, very evenly cut, and adorned with small golden tubes cunningly adjusted up to the middle [of each cord in the fringe]. This wool was spun, and below the tubes was untwisted, and that was the part that fell upon the forehead, for the little tubes were enough to fill up the whole fringe. This fringe fell to just above the eyebrows, and it was a finger in thickness and covered the whole forehead.[80] And all these Lords went about with their hair short, and the orejones wore it as if upon a comb. They wore very fine soft clothes, they and their sisters whom they had for wives, and their vassals, important orejones, or those whom the Lords made so, and

all the rest, wore coarse clothing. This Lord put his mantle over his head, fastening it under the chin and covering his ears. He did this in order to cover up one ear which had been torn, for when the men of Guascar captured him, they tore it off. This Lord dressed in very fine clothes. While he was eating one day, and these Ladies already mentioned were bringing him his dinner, and they placed it before him upon some thin small green rushes, he was seated upon a duo of wood somewhat more than a palm high. This duo was made of beautifully coloured wood, and they always kept it covered up with a very delicate mantle, even though he might be sitting upon it. These rushes, already mentioned, were always spread before him when he wished to eat, and on them they placed all the food in vessels of gold, silver and pottery, and that [dish] which stirred his appetite he indicated, and, taking it up, one of the said ladies would hold it in her hand while he ate. One day while he was eating in this manner in my presence, and when he raised a portion of the food to his

mouth, a drop fell upon the clothing which he wore, and giving his hand to the Indian woman, he raised himself and went into his room to don other clothing, and when he came back he wore a shirt and a mantle of dark brown. Coming up to him, I felt the mantle, which was smoother than silk, and I said to him: Inga, of what is this soft clothing made? And he said to me: It is made of birds who fly by night in Puerto Viejo and Tumbez and who bite the Indians. On my saying to him: How is it and where could so much batskin be gathered? he replied: Those dogs of Tumbez and Puerto Viejo, what else have they to do than to capture these animals so as to make clothes for my father? And thus it is that the bats of those parts bite the Indians and Spaniards and horses by night, and they suck up so much blood that it is a mysterious thing. And so it was made certain that this clothing was of bat wool, and so the clothing was of the same colour as they are, for in Puerto Viejo and Tumbez and their regions there are great numbers of them. One

day it befell that an Indian came to complain that a Spaniard had taken some garments of Atabalipa. The Marquis sent me to go and find out who it was, and to summon the Spaniard in order that he might be punished. The Indian took me to a hut where there was a great quantity of chests, for the Spaniard was now gone away, and he [the Indian] told me that it was from there that he had taken a garment of the Lord's. And, on my asking him what he had there in those chests, he showed me some in which there was everything which Atabalipa had touched with his hands, and garments which he had rejected, in fine, everything which he had touched. I asked him: For what purpose do you have all these things here? He answered that it was in order to burn them, for each year they burned all these things, because all that was touched by the Lords, who were sons of the Sun, must be burned, made into ashes and thrown into the air, for no one must be allowed to touch it. Standing guard over these things was an important man who guarded the things

and collected them from the women who served [the sovereigns]. These Lords slept on the ground on large mattresses of cotton. They had large counterpanes of wool with which they covered themselves. I have not seen in all of this [land of] Pirú an Indian like this Atabalipa, nor one equal to him in ferocity and authority.

Atabalipa now having died, as I have told it, his sisters and wives had been given to understand that if they [the Spaniards] did not burn him, he would return to this world. Then, a number of troops, a sister of his, and some Indian women having been hung, so that they might go to the other world to serve Atabalipa, two sisters remained, and they went about giving utterance to great lamentations accompanied by the beating of drums and by singing, and by accounts of the deeds of their husband. Then they halted until the Marquis came out of his room, and, coming to where Atabalipa had been wont to be, they asked me to let them go in, and, having entered, they began to call Atabalipa, seeking

for him very gently in the corners. Then, perceiving that he did not reply to them, and uttering great moans, they went out. When they had gone out I asked them for what they were seeking, and they told me what I have related. I disillusioned them, and I told them that the dead did not come back, and so they [the sisters] went away. It was the custom among these Indians that the women should wail for their husbands every year, and the kinsmen carrying the vestments and arms [of the dead] before, while many Indian women laden with chicha went behind [the wives], and other women provided with drums upon which they played while dancing and relating the deeds of the dead, they were wont to go from hill to hill and from place to place wherever the dead, while still in life, had gone, and after becoming weary, they sat down and drank, and, having rested, they wailed again until all the chicha was drunk.

After the death of Atabalipa, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro raised up as Lord Tubalipa, a son of Guainacapa and a brother

of Guascar, to whom the sovereignty rightfully was due.[81] This man had come to see Atabalipa when he was in prison, and he pretended to be very friendly [to the Spaniards], and he feigned illness throughout the time when Atabalipa was not leaving his room. He did this in fear lest Atabalipa order him slain, as he had the rest of his brothers. Then, having been raised up as Lord, in conformity with [the laws of] the natives, and while he was eating one day, Challicuchima being with him, Challicuchima pledged him with a cup of chicha, for they had this custom of pledging thus, and Challicuchima put poison in the chicha of Tubalipa, in such a way that he consumed it, and he came to die at Xauxa at the end of seven or eight months. These Indians knew herbs by means of which they can kill at the end of as many months or years as they desired. Tubalipa having been raised up as Lord, as I say, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro commanded that all the troops make ready to go to Xauxa, saying that thenceforward all the treasure which should be found

would be for all. This gave contentment to those who came with Almagro, and all prepared themselves for the departure. Having set out from Caxamalca, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro with all his troops and with the new Lord, Tubalipa, and Challicuchima under guard, we went journeying as far as Guamachuco. Arrived there, they were not given Indian [bearers] to enable them to pass onward, because Challicuchima had secretly ordered that it be so, and because he was more feared in the land than the new Lord already mentioned. Challicuchima did this for two reasons: one was that if it were so, they [the Indians] would honour Atabalipa [Tubalipa?] less, and so he [Challicuchima] said that if he were to come with us, the very stones would turn themselves into Indians. The other reason was that [he wished] to kill certain caciques with whom he was angered, as it became clear at this point that he was, for, while talking to the Marquis, he said to him: Look, Lord, how slight account they take of Tubalipa, for they have not even made ready the tambos. But

allow me to rule, and you shall see how well everything will be made ready. The Marquis said to him: Do whatever you wish. Having this permission, Challicuchima summoned to him all the caciques of this region of Guamachuco,[82] and, causing them to bring as many large stones as there were caciques and chiefs, he had them placed in the plaza in orderly array, and then [he ordered] all the caciques to stretch themselves out upon the ground and place their heads upon the stones. Then, taking in his hands another stone, as heavy a one as he could lift, he hit the first [cacique] upon the head with it, and as he [the cacique] had a soft head, [the blow] flattened it out like a tortilla. And thus he [Challicuchima] wished to do to all the rest [of the caciques]. Hearing of this piece of cruelty, the Marquis sent straightway to order that it be carried no further, and thus was the evilness of this man [Challicuchima] understood. And certainly there was very bad preparation in all the tambos while he was alive, for, out of fear of him, they did not obey Tubalipa. And

these natives of Caxamalca and Guamachuco and their environs are well disposed folk. They wore their hair long, and wound strands of red wool around their heads, and they were idolaters, like the rest already mentioned, holding the Sun to be the chief god by command of the Ingas, for these last adored the Sun. Passing hence, we went by forced marches to Guailas. The people of Guailas are dirty folk to judge by what the natives say of them, porque se decia dellos que comian la semilla que la muger echaba cuando se ayuntaban con ella. The character of this people is thus. They, also, wear their hair long, and they have on their heads certain garlands which they call pillos, as well as very white slings wound about the head. From this place we went to Atabillos, Tarama and Bombon, which is another province. These people wear ribbons around their heads and long hair. These ribbons are painted yellow and red. From here we passed on to Xauxa where we had a reëncounter with the war-

riours whom Challicuchima had left there when he went to Caxamalca. These Indians fled, setting fire to a great galpón which was in Xauxa and to other storehouses [containing] foodstuffs. They burned this galpón for the purpose of hiding a certain treasure of gold which they were leaving there, in order that it might be obliterated by the fire, and so, when the fire had died down, certain pitchers of gold and silver and vases were found [in the ruins], although it was later understood that another treasure of gold had been sent for hiding to Lunaguana, that being a valley near Xauxa, but hidden away from the road. These warriours withdrew toward Cuzco and joined forces with those of Quizquiz, although there were certain skirmishes upon the road, as I shall tell further on.[83]

We having thus arrived at this valley of Xauxa, the Marquis halted us here for some days in order that the troops might rest, and in order to examine this locality of Xauxa, with a view to establishing in it a settlement, which was done, that being the second village

which was founded [by the Spaniards] in this kingdom, and afterwards it was moved to Lima, where it is now established, in order to have the port near at hand. While we were stopping several days in this place, Tubalipa died of the love-potions which Challicuchima gave him in Caxamalca, as I have said. And after having rested his troops, the Marquis determined to leave some Spaniards here, and so it was done, though the actual foundation was not made until he returned from Cuzco. This having been settled upon, he commanded that the troops who were to go to Cuzco should be made ready, ordering Soto to go ahead three or four days' marches with some light-armed troops and to keep him [Pizarro] always informed of what there was ahead. And thus we set out, the one group and the other. These natives of Xauxa are in two groups, one called Xauxas, the other Guancas. All wear their hair long, wound in the manner of a fillet around the head and neatly trimmed. The Xauxas wear fillets of red a hand's breadth wide; the Guancas wear black ones.

Their language is the common one which they call Guichuasimí,[84] which is the tongue which the Lord commanded them to speak generally, for each province had its own language, different each one from the rest, and that of the Lords and orejones was the most obscure of all, and [so also was] that of Puerto Viejo, for these people of Puerto Viejo when talking almost scream like cats. This language of the Guancas differs from the common tongue a little, as that of the Portuguese differs from that of the Castilians, I mean the language of these Xauxas and Guancas.

To one side, and further down in this province, are found the Chachapoyas. These people are a warlike folk. Their heads are partly shorn. It is said that they were robbers. The women of these people are usually beautiful. I heard one day Atabalipa say to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro that in this province there was a mountain range, and that, from time to time, they used to set fire to a small mountain which formed a part of it, and that after the fire had died out, they

used to find melted silver in it. And this was the reason why the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro did not fix upon his marquisate, because he was waiting to establish it in this province and in that of Guanuco, pretending to barter the Indians for those whom they had there with permission from His Majesty. I say that this mountain range mentioned by Atabalipa was either where I have said or among the Guancachupachos. And I am not certain in what province of these two I mention it was, although to judge by what he [Atabalipa] said, it is among the Chachapoyas.

Having now set out from Xauxa for Cuzco, as I have said, with Soto going in advance, we went onwards upon our journey, and in Vilcas certain warriours came out against Soto, and upon an upward slope which one must climb in order to enter Vilcas, they had a reëncounter, and the Spaniards routed the Indians. We killed some of them; and of this Soto gave news to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. The Marquis sent to order Soto to wait for him three or four days' jour-

ney short of Cuzco, which Soto did not do, on account of which we were all like to be lost. It was a fact that Soto was travelling with the evil intention of entering Cuzco before the Marquis. He had information that in Vilca Conga,[85] ten leagues from Cuzco, all the [Indian] troops were assembled, awaiting us in order to give us battle, that being a strong position for them on account of the fact that there was a sharp slope [which has an upward incline more than a league long] which it seemed to the Indians would cause the horses to be weary when they finished going up the grade, and [the Indians thought that] they would avail themselves the more than if the land had been flat, and so it almost turned out to be, and it would have been so had not God our Lord given a remedy. Then, the soldiers who were going with Soto becoming aware of his intentions, one of them gave the Marquis information about it, which information reached us at the river of Avancay.[86] Learning of it, the Marquis ordered Don Diego de Almagro to go in pursuit [of

Soto] and detain him wherever he caught up with him. And, when all the rest of the troops who were there were made ready, he gave them to Don Diego de Almagro in order that he might go with them [to support him]. The Marquis kept only some twenty or twenty-five men, most of those being the foot-soldiers who were guarding Challicuchima. And certain it is that if the land had been undivided [by dissensions], we would all have perished here. When Almagro had set out, Soto received news of his coming, and, in order to carry out his intention, he went on with double marches, giving as a pretext to his soldiers his wish to hurry to capture that pass of Vilca Conga before the Indians should assemble, and this in the face of the fact that they had already been assembled there for some months. While Soto was proceeding in this manner, Almagro had news of it, and spurring on his horses, he went on at double marches without stopping day or night in order to catch up with Soto. It was the truth, then, that Soto urged on his horses so much that he wearied

them, and, not wishing to rest at the foot of the slope lest Almagro, who was now near, overtake him, he went up it with the horses so fatigued that half way up the grade the Indians attacked them and surrounded them in such a manner that they even laid hands upon the horses' tails. Here they killed five Spaniards and wounded many horses, and if the night had not intervened they would have killed all. This enemy was disposed in such wise that some Spaniards who had remained behind went to the Camp of the Indians, believing that it was that of the Spaniards. That same night Don Diego de Almagro arrived at the foot of the slope, and, not finding Soto, went up the grade without stopping, his horses being no less weary than those which had previously gone up with Soto. Having climbed the slope by the hour of midnight, they [Almagro and his men] did not guess where were the Christians and where the Indians, because these Indians were awaiting the dawn in order to attack Soto and rout him, and so it would have been

had not Almagro arrived. Then, Almagro being in a high place in order to descry where the Spaniards [of Soto] might be and in order that they might learn of his arrival, he ordered a trumpet of shell to be sounded, and by its notes the very much afflicted Spaniards who were with Soto were made to rejoice, and they came to where Almagro was, and this trumpet was sounded many times upon this night in order that some Spaniards who, wearied, had remained behind, might be able to guess where the Camp of the Christians was. Then, the Indian warriours hearing the trumpet, they knew that help had arrived, and in the morning they went up a peak, very leisurely, and without fear of the Spaniards, and certain it is that those who were in the greatest peril at this time were those who had remained with the Marquis, because they were so few, as I have said, that had the Indians known of it, they would have made but little ado about killing them all. Then all stopped in this place of Vilca Conga and they waited for Don Francisco Pizarro who was now in Apurima,

where he had a message, sent by Almagro, which told him all that had taken place.[87]

Now that I have recounted all that befell in connexion with the war from Xauxa as far as Vilca Conga, I shall tell of the gold and silver which we found upon the road. In Andaguailas was found a great quantity of spoiled silver, I mean to say small pieces. This was left there, and was later taken to Xauxa, and there other lots were discovered, although they were but small, because this was [silver] which they returned from Andaguailas, and [we found] what there was in Xauxa and some large slabs of silver which we found while going down from Curamba to a plain where there was a village of mamaconas, and further on it will be told what the mamaconas are. We having arrived, then, at this plain where was this village of mamaconas, which was deserted on account of all its people having fled, upon a plain which there spreads itself before the houses, the Marquis stopped to eat, and he ordered me to go into those houses to see if there was anything to eat.

Accordingly I went, and while I was looking for maize and other things to eat, I entered by chance a hut where I found these slabs of silver which I have mentioned, which were as many as ten in number, and had a length of twenty feet and a width of one foot, and a thickness of three fingers. I gave the Marquis news of it, and he and all the rest who were with him came in to see it. These slabs, Indians told [us], were [being] carried to Trugillo in order to build there a house for their idol who was called Chimo. The gateway of this [idol's house] was found later, and it was worth ninety thousand castellanos. In Vilcas, in a round hut, were found certain panniers, and in them were pitchers and plates of gold. This, they said, was to have been carried to Atabalipa and to him of Guailas to form a part of what he had ordered. And when he died, they remained in the place where the event found them. Also I heard Atabalipa [say] one day while he was eating with the Marquis that they were bringing him from Chile six hundred panniers [full] of

gold for the treasure he had ordered. Upon being asked by the Marquis how great a quantity that would be, he replied: It will form a pile as high as this table. This [treasure] never made its appearance. Then, going onward, and having arrived at the Apurima, which means The-Lord-Who-Speaks, for here in this Apurima the demon used to speak with them, it befell that, in the presence of a Spaniard whom Mango Inga held a prisoner while he [Mango] was in revolt, and who was called Francisco Martin, this Mango Inga caused the demon to speak to him before this Francisco Martin, who said that he heard the voice of the demon reply to the questions which Mango Inga put to him, and he [Mango] said to him [Martin]: See how my god speaks to me. There was in this [valley of] Apurima which I mention a much painted hut, and inside of it was set up a thick beam, thicker than a very fat man, and this beam had many pieces hacked out of it. It was very much covered with the blood which they offered to it. It had a girdle of gold bound around it

and soldered on so as to resemble lace, and on the front were two large teats of gold like those of a woman, likewise soldered to it just as the girdle was. This beam was arrayed with very fine garments of a woman, and having many copos of gold, which are like pins, and which the women of this kingdom use, most of them being large, a palm in length, and at the head they are very broad and flat, and from these heads hang many tiny little bells of gold and silver. These [pins] they [the women] used to fasten the mantles, which they use as clothes, over their shoulders. At the sides of this thick beam, which I mention, there are others, in a line, from one side to another, and they occupy the entire length of the room. These beams, likewise, are bathed with blood and robed in mantles like the large one, resembling, with their copos, statues of women. Through this largest beam they say it was that the demon used to speak to them. They called him Apurima. Over him was placed a guardian, a lady who styled herself Asarpay, a sister of

these Ingas. This woman later hurled herself headlong from a very high pass which leads down to the descent that approaches the bridge across the Apurima river. Covering up her head she threw herself into the river near this gully, more than two hundred estados deep, at the same time calling out to Apurima, the idol whom she served. In this land there were idols which these Indians had, and which they called Guacas, and in Cuzco there was one which they called Guanacaure in the lake of the Collao at Titicara, and this Apurima [is] called Achimo in Trugillo, whither they were taking these slabs [of silver]. And above all these Guacas they held in esteem Pachacama, because in their tongue Pachacama means The-Lord-Who-Takes-All-The-Earth. I am inserting some of these things as they come to my memory in order not to forget them.[88]

Many other innumerable idols they had wherever the demon appeared to them. But these Indians held those which I have mentioned to be very important idols, to judge

by what they said about them. This beam which I have mentioned and which was used as an idol of Apurima, went to the factor Mercado who had those Indians in encomienda, and it was very . . . . they gave him for it twelve thousand pesos. This woman who, as I say, hurled herself [into the river] did so that it [the idol] might be returned. This was about the time of the siege of Cuzco, for it was at that time that Mercado came.

To return now to captains Don Diego de Almagro and Soto, who were at Vilca Conga with the troops, awaiting the Marquis, as I have said, [it befell that] Don Francisco Pizarro having arrived at the slope of Vilcaconga where all the said troops were assembled waiting for him, we set forth to the city of Cuzco. Having arrived at Xaquixaguana,[89] four leagues from Cuzco, we arrived at the village [where] a son of Guainacapa, called Mango Inga, came in peace to the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, saying: To whom does the sovereignty belong? And the Mar-

quis said that he would inform himself concerning the matter in Cuzco, and in accordance with this [policy] so was it arranged, which should not have been done, for the natives desired that only the Marquis should govern and that he create no Lord [to rule over them]. And certainly it would have been better so, for this Indian [Mango Inga] did things which will be related further on, for [it chanced that] in this place of Xaquixaguana the treasonable actions of this man Challicuchima toward the Spaniards were discovered, and [it was learned] how he had commanded warriours to lie in wait for the Spaniards, as I have already said, and in the passes there were skirmishes [ordered by him]. Also the pledges which he had made to Tubalipa were learned about, and for these reasons, and because, should he get loose, he would greatly imperil the Spaniards, the Marquis and his captains agreed to kill him, and accordingly he was killed in this place.[90] And when they took him out to execute him, he gave loud cries, calling upon his companion

Quizquiz that[91] . . . . . .
to kill, because he believed that . . . . . .
of which through the peaks of these mountains . . . . . .
Jaguana there were warriours . . . . . .
thus was killed this captain . . . . . .
This man was a well-disposed Indian . . . . .
sturdy limbs, dark, very . . . . . .
Believe me when I say that while this Indian . . . . . .
xlaca from Caxamalca in half . . . . . .
of Almagro came out on horseback from the . . . . . .
of the Marquis, and as he saw him . . . . . .
to the horse making ready . . . . . .
Challicuchima es[caped?] . . . . . .
without moving, although he arrived . . . . .
to place his beard [or chin] above the face . . .
Challicuchima did not make a move . . . . . .
All blamed Don Diego de Almagro . . . . . .
for not having overthrown him. He was a very cruel Indian. From here we set out for Cuzco . . . . . the storehouses which there were in this valley, and from here

to Cuzco [examples of] all the things which there were in this kingdom[92] . . . . . to the Lord of Noctumbez. Up to this place it was a thing for fear, and it appeared to all that it would be impossible ever to put an end to it. Even with some sea-shells with the . . . . . they brought from Tumbez in order to make the very delicate little reckoning [devices?] . . . . . coral, and of all the many things which it can be imagined that there are in these realms . . . . . judge. Arrived a league [from Cuzco] at a plain which was named . . . . . by a skirmish which there was with Quizquiz and his men. This was a declivity leading down to this plain where they killed and wounded some horses . . . . . The Marquis this night in the . . . . . with heavy guard . . . . there was . . . . because . . . . the afternoon in order to enter Cuzco. Thus when, in this manner, at midnight rebellion broke out and fighting between the troops . . . . . of some horses which escaped . . . . . understanding what it was that the

Indian warriours who were in the . . . . . attacked our men and did us much harm because the friendly natives who were with us embraced the Spaniards, believing that Quizquiz with his troops had attacked the Camp, for, as they were his enemies on account of belonging to the party of Guascar and on account of having joined forces with the Spaniards, they [the friendly Indians] feared them much, and the enemy wished to slay all of them. This tumult lasted a long while until it was understood what the matter was. Then Quizquiz and the Indian warriours who were with him, hearing the great shouts of the fighters, believed that we were attacking them, and so they withdrew that night, and on the next morning none of them appeared. Then, after dawn . . . . . the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro remained . . . . . three portions of his soldiers, and one went on ahead, scouting, and the other part . . . . . guard, and he, with the rest of the troops, ... on foot in the centre, in this manner . . . . . In Cuzco there were

so many people who came to see us that the fields were covered with them. When we had entered with the Marquis, he caused all the troops to be lodged around the plaza, he himself taking up his abode in Caxana, certain rooms which . . . . . of Guainacapa, and likewise Johan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro his brothers. In others . . . . . were near to this Caxana.[93] Almagro [was lodged] in other quarters which were near to the place where the cathedral now is. Soto [was lodged] in Amarocancha in some rooms which are so called [and which were the property] of the ancient Ingas, which were in the plaza of the other part [of the city]. And the rest of the soldiers were quartered in a large galpón which was near the plaza, and in Atun Cancha,[94] which was a huge enclosed area with but one entrance. On the plaza side this enclosure was [a house of] mamaconas, and there were in it many rooms. In these [buildings] which I mention were lodged all the Spaniards. Then the Marquis caused a proclamation to be made to the effect that no Spaniard should enter

the houses of the natives or take anything from them. It was the sight of the soldiery who were in this city of Cuzco that caused wonderment . . . . . most of who served these dead folk whom I have mentioned, for each day they took them all out into the plaza and sat them down in a row, each one according to his antiquity, and there the men and women servitors ate and drank. And for the dead they made fires before them with a piece of very dry wood which they had worked into a very even shape. Having set this piece of wood on fire, they burned here every thing which they had placed before the dead in order that he might eat of the things which they eat, and here in this fire they consumed it. Likewise before these dead people they had certain large pitchers, which they call *verquis*,[95] made of gold, silver or pottery, each one according to his wish, and into [these vessels] they poured the chicha which they gave to the dead man with much display, and the dead pledged one another as well as the living, and the living pledged the dead. When

these verquis were filled, they emptied them into a round stone in the middle of the plaza, and which they held to be an idol, and it was made around a small opening by which it [the chicha] drained itself off through some pipes which they had made under the ground. This . . . . . had a sheath or choir which in . . . . . in the whole of it and covered it up, and thus they had built a sort of hut of woven mats, round, with which . . . . . night they covered it in the same manner. They took out a small covered bundle which they said was the Sun, carried by an Indian whom they had as a priest, and who was dressed in a long shirt above which he wore other garments, which fell to below the shin and had tassels like fringes a hand's breadth wide garnished all around. These fringes were entire, not cut. Then came two others who, like the first, were called guardians of the Sun. Each of these two bore in his hand a lance somewhat larger than a halberd, and upon them were lashed clubs, and axes of gold. They carried them covered up with

woollen sheathes like sleeves, for they covered them up entirely and fell below. All these lances were dressed around the middle with girdles of gold. These Indians said that they were the arms of the Sun. Wherever they set this bundle down, they saw the head [of the Sun]. For the Sun, they had placed a bench in the centre of the plaza, all garnished with mantles of feathers, very colourful and very delicate, and here they placed this bundle, grounding the halberds on either side of him. Holding the axes erect, then, they gave this Sun food to eat in the manner which I have already described while speaking of the dead, and they gave him drink. Then, when they burned the dinner of the Sun, one Indian raised his voice and gave a cry which all heard, and, hearing the cry, all those who were in the plaza, and all those outside of it who heard, sat down, and, without speaking or coughing or moving, kept silence until the dinner was consumed which they had thrown into the fire they had made, all of which did not take very long, for the wood was very dry. All the

ashes which were left over from these fires they threw into the round stone trough shaped like a teat which, as I say, was in the middle of the plaza, and into which they threw the . . . . . This Sun had many guardians and servitors who were like priests. One among them was the chief, for he was like a bishop, and to him all the others yielded obedience, and, without the permission of these [priests] they did nothing, and he [the chief priest] was called Vila[96] . . . . . He was Lord of . . . . . of the Lords of the kingdom. They had for this Sun certain very large houses, all of very well made masonry, in the manner of that near . . . . . very high and well worked. On the right of it there was a band consisting of plates of gold a palm wide, fastened upon the stones [of the wall]. And above all this, on the entire front of the enclosure, which was not larger than a small patio, there was a . . . . . like a bench with the encasing of gold which, as I have said, covered it, and which they carried to Caxamalca. Here they seated the Sun when he

did not go out into the plaza by day. At night they placed him in a small but very well made room, likewise adorned with golden plates in every part. Here lived many women who said that they were the wives of the Sun, and they pretended to keep their virginity and to live chastely, and they lied, for they involved themselves with the male servants and guardians of the Sun, who were many.

Away from the room where the Sun was wont to sleep, they made a small field, which was much like a large one, where, at the proper season, they sowed maize. They sprinkled it by hand with water brought on purpose for the Sun. And at the time when they celebrated their festivals, which was three times a year, that is: when they sowed the crops, when they harvested them, and when they made orejones, they filled this garden with cornstalks made of gold, having their ears and leaves very much like natural maize, all made of very fine gold, which they had kept in order to place them here at these times.[97] In this house where, as I say, the

Sun was, more than two hundred women were wont to sleep daily, all of them being the daughters of important Indians. They slept on the floor, and they placed the bundle of the Sun upon a high bench, very rich with much trimming of turnsoles, and they pretended to sleep there and that the Sun had connexion with them.

I shall try now to tell what these mamaconas are, and this name of mamaconas which they have was the usual one among the people of this lineage of these orejones, for they were numerous, and they were looked upon [by the people] as noble, especially those who went with their hair short, because there were others who had their hair long and flowing, without ever cutting it, although they said that they were relatives, the ones with the others, their origin being two brothers, one of whom took the habit of going about with his hair short and the other with his hair long. From the lineage of those who cut their hair were sprung the Lords of this kingdom, and the sons and daughters of these were

held in greater respect. They were at liberty, when they were of age, to choose whomever they wished in order to serve him and to call themselves by his name, and from the time when they were small children their fathers assigned them and dedicated them either to the Sun or to the reigning Sovereign or to one of the dead men whom I have mentioned, and they set them aside for [the chosen one's] service. And those who were dedicated to the Sun went to live in his houses, which were very large and very well enclosed [with walls], the women busying themselves with making chicha, which was a kind of beverage which they made from maize and drank as we do wine, and with preparing the food as well for the Sun as for those who served him. They all had to be assembled at night, without any of them going outside of these enclosures and houses, for they had many porters who guarded them, and there was but one door in these enclosures, as I myself have seen. Nor was any male to sleep or remain by night [within the enclosure] under penalty of death in case

it should be found out [I saw what I here describe]. And he who arranged and ordered everything in [regard to] their rites had them [the offenders] killed, because they obeyed and feared him [the high priest] in their rites and ceremonies. By day these women could go out, and they were called mamaconas. Those women who were thus for the service [of the Sun] were as I have described them, and [it was the same in] other places very well enclosed and having gates and porters who guarded them. In like manner they occupied themselves as did the women of the Sun, as well as in serving the sisters of the Ingas. Those who were with the dead had more liberty, for, though they were shut up in their houses, they were not so much oppressed as the rest already mentioned. In the provinces throughout this kingdom of Pirú there was this order of mamaconas, and it gathered together, in the largest province and town assigned to it, the daughters of the Indian nobles, and even in the very villages, even though they might be small, they had

houses for the reception of the girls born [in all classes] of the Indians. From the age of ten years onward they occupied themselves with aiding in sowing the crops of the Sun and of the Inga, and in making delicate clothing for the Lords, as I say, in spinning wool, for the men did not like to weave it. In like manner, these women made chicha for the Indians who cultivated the lands of the Sun and of the Inga, and, on his [the Sun's or the Inga's] behalf they gave food and chicha to garrisons of troops who might pass by the land [of the Sun]. The arrangement they had for giving wives to the Indians and for renewing these mamaconas was this. Every year the governor who ruled the province, and who was an orejon appointed by the Inga [each ten thousand Indians had its governor], caused all these mamaconas to assemble in the plaza, and he bade those who were the oldest to choose the husbands that suited them from their own village, and calling the Indian men to them, they [the women] asked them with what women of those who were there

they wished to wed, and in this way they proceeded every year, marrying off the oldest women, and replacing them by others ten years old, as I have said. If by chance any of these Indian women was very fair, they sent her to the Sovereign. These women were called mamaconas. This was common throughout this kingdom of Pirú. These women sustained themselves with the food which they collected for the Lord, because in each province they sowed and preserved great supplies of [food], and from certain parts they carried it to Cuzco.[98] And if the place were very far away, they distributed it among the natives so that it might not be lost, the order being that when they [the natives] took anything from the stores, they were to give back as much new food [later on]. As they had these storehouses, they had peace, for whenever troops passed through the villages they could provide themselves with supplies from the stores without touching those of the natives. Likewise, they had deposits of coarse clothing, because all the fine cloth was taken

to Cuzco, and stores of sandals, which they call ojotas, of arms such as those which they used in the provinces in order to supply the troops who passed by, and of all other things which they needed. These governors who were in the provinces had charge of all this, and they had charge of causing to be carried to Cuzco that portion of the things paid as tribute which they had been ordered to send thither. Similarly, they had charge of the distribution of land among the natives of their jurisdictions, assigning to each Indian what was sufficient for him, and in like manner they arranged about the quantity of water which he might take for the working of his lands, if it chanced to be in a land of irrigation canals, for, in the greater part of this kingdom they had them and used them in order to . . . . plow the fields and sow them, and later it remained for the rains [to do the rest]. This was in the mountains. These governors kept track of the Indians of both sexes who were born. Also, they made those of their district who had mines bring out from

them gold and silver. They made others gather coca, which was a much valued herb which they carry in their mouths and with which they make all their sacrifices and idolatries, and this coca did not relieve them of thirst, hunger and weariness, although they said it did, and this I heard from Atabalipa and Mango Inga. They honoured it much because the Lords to whom they gave it used it, and they held to be an honoured thing whatever they ate or had. And finally, these [governors] had accounts and reports of everything, and, to preserve peace and justice, they went every day to visit the villages of their districts, in order that the Indians should not possess nor have more than he [the governor] assigned to them. They could not have their daughters beyond the age of ten, nor could they have gold and silver or fine clothes, unless, perchance, the Lord gave some piece of it to some cacique [for these last are Lords of villages or provinces whom they call caciques] in reward for some service he had done to the Sovereign. Nor could they have

more than ten head of cattle, except with permission from the Sovereign, and this permission he gave to caciques, that is, permission to have fifty or one hundred head. Believe me when I say that, at the time when we entered Cuzco, I was told by an Indian from Caxamalca that he had been accustomed, ever since he could carry a load, he had carried two loads of maize from Caxamalca to Cuzco on two trips, that is, half a hanega each load, for these natives had measures of silver and wood in which they measured out food, very little larger than ours. From Caxamalca to Cuzco there is a distance of more than two hundred leagues of very rough road through the mountains. On my asking him what he ate on this long road, he replied that they gave him food in the villages through which he passed wherever he needed it, but that the burdens had to arrive entire at Cuzco under penalty of death, and there they [the Indian bearers] placed the burdens in some storehouses which were assigned to the people of Caxamalca, and the same was done with all

the other things which the Yungas paid in tribute. These tributes and supplies were taken up into the mountains in order to place them in storehouses which the Yungas had made [there]. Some of the valleys are close to the sea. It is a hot land; it never rains there save for a mist in the winter, which is but little, and there is no need of other huts than rows of canes [fitted with] reed mats. When, among these Yungas, it is winter, in the mountains it is summer, and, contrariwise, when it is winter in the mountains, it is summer in these valleys. This change of temperature takes place within a distance of a league or two [and in so short a space one may pass] from rain to rainlessness, or from summer to winter, as has been said, for it is a marvellous thing [to see how] on coming out of this temperature of the plains one passes in the space of a league or two into the different temperature of the highlands. These plains are sandy in some cases, most of them being deserts, except where rivers flow from the mountains to the sea, for in these [valleys]

there are towns. And [from] these storehouses already mentioned which the Yungas have in the highlands, the Indians of the neighbourhood take [merchandise] and carry it to Cuzco. The clothes worn by these Yungas are all of cotton, as well in the case of the men as in that of the women. Both men and women wear the hair long, and some of them bind it around the head and wrap slings about it.

I shall now give an account of what was in this city of Cuzco when we entered it, for there were many storehouses which had very fine clothing as well as other coarser garments, and there were stores of *escaños*,[99] food, of coca. There were deposits of turnsole feathers which looked like very fine gold, and other turnsole feathers were of a golden green colour. It was a very slender feather grown by some little birds hardly larger than a cigar, and because they are so small, they call them comine birds. These little birds grow this feather already called turnsole only upon their breasts, and the place where they grow

is scarcely larger than a finger-nail. [These Indians] had many of these feathers twisted into a thin cord closely wound about a framework of maguey in such fashion as to form pieces more than a palm wide, and the whole was fastened upon certain chests [which they had]. Of this feather they made garments which caused the beholders to wonder how so many turnsole feathers could have been gathered together. There were likewise many other plumes of divers colours for the purpose of making clothing with which the Lords and Ladies bedight themselves at the time of the festivals. There were also mantles made with very delicate little spangles of mother-of-pearl, gold and silver in such wise as to cause astonishment at the dexterity of the work, for the whole was so covered with these spangles that nothing of the closely woven network [which formed the basis of the garment] was visible. These garments were likewise for the Ladies. There were stores of sandals with the soles made of cabuya, and above the toes they were made of very fine wool of many colours,

in the manner of Flemish half-shoes, except that they covered the instep [only up to] two fingers below the ankle. I shall not be able to describe the deposits which I saw of all the varieties of apparel which they made and used in this kingdom, for time would be lacking for seeing it all and understanding for comprehending such a great thing. There were many stores of small bars of copper [from] the mines, of sacks and ropes, of wooden vessels, of plates of gold and silver [so that] all that was found here was a thing causing astonishment, although the Indians did not esteem it greatly according to what I understood later, for had they done so, they would have hidden it better. I shall describe, then, certain notable pieces which, though hidden, were found, without taking into account the things found by accident and discovered in the storehouses and among the mamaconas.

There were found in a cave twelve awnings of gold and silver of the nature and size of those used in this land, and so natural that it was a thing to see. Pitchers were found half of

pottery and half of gold, the gold being so well encased in the pottery that, although they filled them with water, not a drop came out, and so well made that it was a sightly thing. Likewise a bundle of gold was found, on account of which the Indians were much afflicted, for they said it was the figure of the first Lord who conquered this land. Slippers made of gold of the sort the women were wont to wear were found. There were found, upon many vessels of gold, lobsters of the sort that grow in the sea, and [the vessels] were sculptured with all the birds and serpents, even spiders, lizards, and all the sorts of beetles which they know, all carved in the body of the gold. All this was found, as I say, in a large cave which is outside of Cuzco among some large rocks, for, being delicate pieces, they did not inter them as they did other and larger treasures of whose burial news was received, later on, from certain Indians. I heard two or three Indians who told about it, one of them speaking to one Maldonado, a servant of the Marquis, and he [the Indian]

told him that in Vilcaconga there was a cave whither, he said, had been carried for hiding a thousand loads of golden plates which Guascar had in order to adorn his house, and soon afterwards this Indian disappeared, and it was never possible to find him, because this Maldonado delayed one day in order to tell the Marquis about it. Another Indian was killed by Almagro when he [Almagro] was at odds with Juan Pizarro in Cuzco, [and this Indian was] a brother of Mango Inga, by whose request he slew him [Almagro]. [The Indian] alleged to one Simon Juarez that behind the fortress of Cuzco there was a plain in which there was a great vault under the ground where more than four thousand loads of gold and silver were buried and hidden. And, Almagro being desirous of killing him [the Indian], Simon Juarez told Almagro what the Indian knew and had said to him. Almagro told Mango Inga about it, by whose request he killed him [the Indian], for Mango Inga said: Kill him, then, for I shall show you that treasure. And after he [Almagro] had killed him

he wished to do it again, for there was no such treasure. Also Almagro killed another brother of this Inga, called Atosxopa, sending four Spaniards who stabbed him at night, among them being one Balboa and Sosa and Perez and another who is not known, and [this likewise was done] at the request of this Mango Inga, because this man tried to kill off all his brothers, thinking that later they might be raised up [to the Incaship] and because, if there were no brothers of his, he sought [to imagine] whom the Spaniards might raise up to be Lord, and so he plotted with Don Diego de Almagro to kill them all as he had these two. And at length no more remained other than a boy Paulo, son of an Indian woman [already fled away] of whom he took no account as he was but a bastard and a young boy, and later Almagro took him [Paulo] with him to Chile when he went there. These [brothers of the Inga] Almagro killed while he was lieutenant governor of Cuzco for the Marquis, and [he did so] with a wicked purpose, which was to win the friendship of

Mango Inga in order that he might favour him in taking Cuzco [for part of] his jurisdiction, for already news had been received that the grant made by His Majesty was coming. These and other numerous treasures these natives hid in the manner which I shall relate, and will be an impossibility to find them, for they took these treasures with what troops were necessary in order to carry them, and they placed them in a spot near where they were to be hidden, and placing them there they left fifty or one hundred Indians, according to the size of the treasure, and commanded all the rest to go away, and there remained with these hundred Indians one of these orejones or two Lords who were vassals of the kings of this land. They caused the treasure to be borne to the place where it was to be buried, and after having hidden it and covered it over well, they took these Indians who had buried it far away, searching for certain remote trees where they might hang them, for the orders were that all should be hung, and so it was done, without their ven-

turing to do anything else, [and] they themselves slew themselves without leaving one alive, be it only a single Inga, out of a hundred or more, for such was the fear and respect in which these Ingas were held that they [their subjects] on being commanded to hang themselves or kill themselves or throw themselves headlong [over a precipice], did so without making any excuse or delay, and for this reason the hidden treasures of this kingdom are many. It will be a miracle if they are found.

To return to the matter of Cuzco, [I will say that] on top of a hill they had a very strong fort surrounded with masonry walls of stones and having two very high round towers. And in the lower part of this wall there were stones so large and thick that it seemed impossible that human hands could have set them in place, and there were some as broad as small . . . . . and more than a fathom thick. And they were so close together, and so well fitted, that the point of a pin could not have been inserted in one of the

joints. The whole [fortress was built up in] terraces and flat spaces. There were so many rooms that ten thousand Indians could get within them. All these rooms were occupied by and filled with arms, lances, arrows, darts, clubs, bucklers and large oblong shields under which a hundred Indians could go, as though under a mantle, in order to capture forts. There were many morions made of certain canes very well woven together and so strong that no stone nor blow could penetrate them and harm the head which wore the morion. There were also, here in this fortress, certain stretchers in which the Lords travelled, as in litters. There were here many Indians who guarded these stores and who saw to it that these terraces and rooms were kept in repair if it rained in the winter-time. This fortress would have been impregnably strong had it been provided with water, and [it had] great labyrinths and rooms which I never saw completely and never understood.[100]

Now I shall tell about the people who were in this city of Cuzco and the vices which they

had. So many were the drums which were heard by night in all parts [of the city], and so much was there of dancing and singing and drinking [partaken in] by the dead and by the living, that the greater part of the night was passed in this way. This was the daily custom of these Lords and Ladies and orejones,[101] for the rest of the Indians were innocent of it except at certain times of the year when, with the permission of the orejones who governed them, they celebrated according to their nature, but most of the year they were occupied with work for the Sovereign. The Sovereigns of this land said that they made the natives work always because it was more fitting so, because they were brawling idlers and wastrels, and if they were made to work, they lived wholesomely. Now I shall tell about the vices which these orejones had and the artifice by which the orejones were created. These, then, year by year, assembled together their sons of ten years' age and arrayed them in certain shirts and certain short mantles, and they shod them

with sandals of straw. Then they fasted a certain number of days in the manner I have described, that is, by going without salt, aji and chicha. On certain days they went daily to a hill half a league from Cuzco, and there they worshipped an idol of stone whom they called Guanacaure. He who most speedily came to this idol was the most feared. This going to and fro lasted, I think, about thirty days, at the end of which, here on this [hill] of Guanacaure, they bored their ears and put bandages upon them. They put in their ears some little thin sticks, and each day they put in a thicker one, until they came to put in a small wheel, like the hoop of a sieve, made of certain rushes which grow in this land, and which are broad and very light. They scraped the flesh of the ear every day in order that [the opening] might go on increasing. There were some [orejones] who had [ears] so large that they came down to the shoulders. He who had the largest [ears] was held to be the finest gentleman among them. After having pierced the ears of these boys, they held great dances

in the plaza, all holding on to a very thick rope of gold which took up the entire length of the plaza. This was never found. At the time when these festivals were being held all the Indians who were not orejones or members of that caste were ordered to leave the city, and [it was forbidden] for any of them to dally in the environs of the city of Cuzco. They had placed forts upon all the roads leading from this city, which were four, to wit: Pocollasuyo, Parachinchasuyo, Paracondesuyo,[102] Indian porters and guardians of the highway in order that no Indian might take away gold or silver or fine clothing if the Inga did not give it to him, and if any person came with something given by the Inga one of the porters was told of it, and if anyone carried anything without leave, they killed him. Now I shall tell of the vices and wickednesses which these orejones had. They were much given up to luxury and to drinking. They had carnal relations with their sisters and with those of the wives of their fathers who were not their own mothers, and some men even

had relations with them . . . . . and likewise with their daughters. They became drunk very seldom, but, being drunk, they did all that the demon suggested it to their wills to do. These orejones were very proud and presumptuous. They had it as a custom among them to take to wife those of their father's spouses who were not their own mothers, and similarly, if their brothers died, they took their wives. They had many other wickednesses which, being many, I shall not mention.[103]

I shall now turn to an account of what the Marquis ordered after he had rested his soldiers for some days, and after he had caused the natives to raise up Mango Inga as Inga, for here, and for this purpose the greater part of the caciques of this land were gathered together. [Mango] having been raised up, as I say, as Sovereign, the Marquis ordered Almagro and Hernando de Soto to make ready and to go in pursuit of Quizquiz [and the warriours whom he carried along with him toward Quito, mastering the land] in order

that they might succour the Spaniards who had remained in Xauxa, so that they [the Indians] might not attack and kill them. And in like manner Mango Inga prepared to go with warriours of the land [for the sake of] aiding the Spaniards and favouring them. The Marquis remained in Cuzco with somewhat more than one hundred Spaniards in order to collect all the gold and silver that was to be had and divide it into shares, as well for those who were going after Quizquiz as for those who remained. And so he did it, and at this time each share contained three thousand pesos, and to the cavalry they allotted two . . . . . and to the infantry three thousand. This was true of those to whom whole shares were given, for here the same order was preserved as had obtained in Caxamalca, as I have related. Then, having divided up the shares, and having given to each one his due, he determined to found in Cuzco the city which is now there, commanding that it be proclaimed that whoever wished to be a citizen there should come and present

a memorial [of his desire] before the secretary, and that each [settler] should ask for that of which he had need, and this the Marquis did in order to give greater spirit [to his men] so that men would remain and settle in this Cuzco, for certain it was that they stayed at great risk to their lives, they being so few and the natives so many. And for this reason he gave very large repartimientos, giving them by provinces, to each one who asked for them, and for this reason he did not give encomiendas, as His Majesty had asked him to do, giving stores instead in order that he might later take away what seemed to him best, as later on was done by Picado when he entered the secretaryship and Pedro Sancho left it. He [Sancho] was the second secretary, for he [Pizarro] had had as his first secretary one Jerez, a native of Seville.[104] Then, having made this repartimiento, and having founded Cuzco, he made ready to return to Xauxa in order to found there his town, having now learned something about the province of the Collao through two Spaniards

whom he had sent there, who were Diego de Agüero and Pedro Martinez de Moguer. These people of the Collao are dwellers in a cold land around the lakes which I have mentioned as existing in these provinces. And in all these provinces of the Collao, Quillacas and Carangas neither maize nor wheat is grown on account of the great coldness of the land, but certain potatoes, like earthy seeds, are sown by the Indians in large quantities. They likewise gather certain roots which they call ocas, and which are somewhat longer than a finger and have the thickness of two fingers. They also gather a seed called quinua,[105] which grows on some trees like the cenizos of Spain, but which are taller. The seed is very small. These [people] sow at their own times, and often [their fields] are frozen. They eat some maize from the valleys which they have in the direction of the South Sea and from others which are in the Andes toward the North Sea [and they barter for it] with wool and cattle of which they have much, because these people of the Collao under-

stand well how to take care of the flocks of the Sun and of him who reigned over the land, [and they had such flocks] in great quantities, having large pastures in their lands and vast deserts. In these deserts were bred large numbers of mountain cattle which they call guanacos and vicuñas, similar to the tame animals. The guanaco was a large smooth animal having but little wool. The vicuñas were small, having much very fine wool from which they made clothing for the Lords. These mountain animals were so swift that there were few dogs which were fleet enough to catch up with them. In these deserts there were Indians who watched over [the animals] for the natives in order that those who passed by should not take any of them, nor any of the birds which lived here, which were partridges and geese. These partridges are like those of Spain, except that their feet and beak are not red. Each year they [the Indians] made circles in which they captured these vicuñas and guanacos and clipped them of their wool in order to make clothes for the

Lords, and out of the animals which died they made very fine resin, drying it in the sun without . . . . for the Lords, and the live ones they let loose. In these deserts there were mad women, as I say. And at these roundups, which they held by order of the Lords, the Lords themselves were sometimes present to enjoy themselves. The same was true in all the deserts which there were in this kingdom. The Indians of this province of Collao are a dirty folk; they indulge in many abominable sins, and many men go about in the clothes of women, doing evil [and engaged in] many idolatries. They wear coarse woollen clothing, and both men and women wear the hair long and curling. Those of one part of the lake wear large bonnets upon their heads having a height of more than a palm and as broad above as below. Those of the other side of the lake wear bonnets very narrow above and as broad as small mortars below, made of black wool. Other [tribes] who border upon these and who are called Carnigas, and Aullagas and Quillacas, wear hats like these worked in coloured

wools. The Charcas, who lie beyond, wear their hair caught up and bound with little nets around it made of cords of coloured wool and having a cord which passes under the chin. Almost all these [tribes] have one language, unless, perchance, these Charcas differ from the rest to some extent. And others, who call themselves Amparaes, likewise differ in language. In this land there were many silversmiths, and [they were] very skillful artificers, and they all lived in Cuzco. The natives of this kingdom were known by their clothes, for each province has a costume different from the rest, and they hold it to be an affront to wear a costume not belonging [to the wearer's province].

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